



The original of this book is in the Cornell University Library.

There are no known copyright restrictions in the United States on the use of the text.

Cornell University Library DL 276.W85

Sketches on a tour to Copenhagen, throug

SKETCHES

ON A

TOUR TO COPENHAGEN,

THROUGH

NORWAY AND SWEDEN.



Christian Frederik.

KING of NORWAY.

Born 18.1h Sept. 1786. Elected 17th May 1814.

SKETCHES

ON A

TOUR TO COPENHAGEN,

THROUGH ...

NORWAY AND SWEDEN;

INTERSPERSED WITH

HISTORICAL AND OTHER ANECDOTES OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE CHARACTERS.

TO WHICH IS ADDED

AN APPENDIX,

RELATIVE TO

THE PRESENT POLITICAL STATE OF NORWAY.

BY JENS WOLFF, ESQ.

"Inspicere tanquam in speculum in vitas omnium,
Jubeo, atque ex aliis sumere exemplum sibi." TERENCE.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN, PATERNOSTER ROW;
TAYLOR AND HESSEY, FLEET STREET; AND Y. ASHLEY, YORK STREET,
PORTMAN SQUARE.

1814.

DEDICATION.

TO

THE KING OF NORWAY,

&c. &c. &c.

Sire,

Were it not for the particular events of the day, and the passing occurrences at this crisis, which has induced me to make an addition to a Tour, otherwise of little moment, I should not have ventured to have prefixed your Majesty's name to a work of very inferior interest.

But when I contemplate the struggle for independence, and freedom from a foreign yoke, which the brave Norwegians are now making, under the immediate auspices and protection of your Majesty; I can no longer refrain from offering even my tribute of praise at the exertions of a loyal people; more especially as that country gave birth to my ancestors, and their blood which flows in my veins, must, as long as life shall

DEDICATION.

last, cause me to take a warm interest in whatever concerns the welfare of the natives of it: that complete success may eventually attend their patriotic endeavours, and that they may be sufficiently fortunate as to be governed under the mild sway of a King, who is alone known through the medium of his practical virtues, and unremitting endeavours to promote the happiness of his subjects, and may truly be styled the Glory of his Country; is the ardent wish of one who is, with due submission, anxious to subscribe himself, with the highest consideration and respect,

Sire,

Your Majesty's

most devoted, faithful,

and obedient humble servant,

JENS WOLFF.

London, 1st August, 1814.

PREFACE.

Ir this book should perchance fall into the hands of any one who expects to find it contain an *Itineraire des Routes* from the capital of one kingdom to that of another, who is in search of detailed and minute descriptions of natural curiosities, stately buildings, magnificent collections, and other *preçiosa*, with which most cities in Europe abound, he will be woefully mistaken; let him rather refer to other writers of more leisure and wider intelligence for information on these voluminous and instructive subjects.

"The proper study of mankind is man," and it is in the actions, more than in the thoughts or sentiments of our fellow creatures, that we can best estimate their relative good or evil qualities. Count Eugene de Montmorency, once my intimate acquaintance, pretended to form a most correct idea of the sex, age, talents, disposition, and ac-

quirements of any person, whose hand writing in the superscription of a letter was handed to him; thus going a step beyond Lavater in his critical enquiry into the characters of mankind from their physiognomy. In some respects he judged correctly, in others very erroneously; but if, to the opinions of Lavater and Montmorency we add the actions of the persons whom we wish to scrutinize and pass through the ordeal of severe criticism, they must indeed be profound and experienced hypocrites if they evade our close investigation.

An enthusiastic admirer of the wild scenery with which Norway abounds, I have always returned to that country with encreased delight and satisfaction. My numerous acquaintance, both in Denmark and Norway, have made my occasional excursions rather appear like a continued fête than a round of dull monotony, which many travellers experience in retreading the same soil; but it is not the study of nature alone, however magnificent, that solaces the heart; it is the intercourse with the natives, and the pleasing recollections of past friendship, hours of intellectual enjoy-

ment, and of hospitable reception, that leave an indelible impression on our minds—it is of these I write, and by refreshing my memory with such objects of interest and personal gratification, I once more, in idea, take my airy flight to the regions of the North. If a perusal of scenes of this description are interesting to others, let them follow me in my Tour, even though it be in the depth of winter. On the heart that requires glowing descriptions, a southern sky, and gentle gales to warm it into admiration, I expect not to make any impression; possibly my former Tour to the South of Europe, may be more congenial to their feelings. The keen shafts of criticism will pass unheeded, as I neither write for fame nor profit; concluding that those who willingly fasten on the defects of others, justify the asperity of their remarks, by acting on the principle of the French axiom, "Pour bien sentir le ridicule de " nos defauts, il est necessaire de les considerer dans les " autres." The probable satisfaction of affording some degree of pleasure to others, is my spur of action: if I succeed, I shall be amply rewarded; if not, a few solitary hours

have been rendered pleasant by the retrospective view of past enjoyments.

I have been induced to add a few cursory remarks to the annexed descriptive Tour, in consequence of the great political change in the form of government which Norway has lately experienced; to these, I have added such official proceedings and documents as particularly relate to this important subject, or as, in my researches, I have been able to collect together; forming a body of evidence more especially necessary to elucidate the proceedings of the established Regency. In this, I have been essentially assisted by one of its illustrious members, to whom I am under great obligations; and for this mark of his confidence and friend-ship, it is my earnest wish that he will accept this public acknowledgement.

Should the righteous cause of freedom and independence ultimately prevail, it will be a source of heartfelt satisfaction to me in reflecting, that even my trivial efforts have not been bestowed in vain. I even venture to give it as my humble opinion, that it is for the decided advantage of

PREFACE.

England, that the independence of Norway should be established; and, that the day may not be far distant, when both countries shall be united by the firm bonds of friendship, esteem, and mutual interest, is not alone my ardent hope—it is the wish of thousands.

Gloucester Place, Portman Square.

CHAPTER I.

Departure from Harwich—Gottenburg Packet—Storm at Sea—Rocks of Norway
Harbour of Lyngdahl—English Travellers—Severe Frost—Edder-down Beds—
Mandahl — Genuine Hospitality — Stoves — Christiansand — Frozen Lakes—
Summer Nights—Christian the Seventh's Birth-day—Arrival at Christiania

Page 1

CHAPTER II.

Celebration of the King's Birth-day—Introduction to the Grand Bailiff—Waltzing
—French Opinion relative thereto—The Ladies of Christiania—Historical
Account of Christian II. and the Fair Dyveke

CHAPTER III.

Observations on Mary Wolstonecroft's Description of Norway—Game—Sledge-Races on the Ice—Norway the Land of Hygeia—National Tunes—Pocals—Tordenskiold—Einar-Tambeskiælver, and Olaf Tryggesen King of Norway 26

CHAPTER IV.

Heathen Mythology—The Northern Gods, Odin, Thor, and Freya—Description of the Valkyriæ—Valhalla, the Palace of Odin—Icelandic Poem—The Death of Hacon—Danish, Swedish, and English Languages—Etymology and Observations relative to this Subject - 43

CHAPTER V.

Departure from Christiania - Moss - Sarp-Foss, the celebrater	rated W	7ater-Fa	ll at
Hafslund—Chamberlain Rosenkrantz — Disastrous Effect	produ	ced by	the
Cataract in 1702—Frederickshald—Charles XII. Account	of his	Death,	and
Destruction of Part of his Army in 1719, by intense cold	-	-	55

CHAPTER VI.

Gottenborg—A singular Character—Etiquette in Ball Rooms—Swedish Women compared with those in Denmark—Departure—Helsinborg—Dangerous Passage of the Sound in Ice-boats, and Arrival at Copenhagen - 67

CHAPTER VII.

Copenhagen—Routine of Visits and Engagements—Society in general—A married Man's Grievances—A Bas Bleue not the most desirable Companion—The Danish Theatre—The late King—Some Allusions to Matilda and Struensee—Royal Palace—Conflagration—Frederick V.

CHAPTER VIII.

Royal Introductions—The Prince and Princess Royal—The Hereditary Prince—Duke and Duchess of Augustenborg—The courtly Barometer, an Index of the Human Mind—High Court of Appeals—King's Body Guards - 94

CHAPTER IX.

A Visit to an interesting Relation—Un petit Souper, and a Game at Cards 103

CHAPTER X.

A Ball—Ida of Gottenborg—Danish Ladies' Pin-money—Milliners—Promenade on the Ramparts—House-rent—Dronningaard—Riches preferred to the Fine Arts—Commercial Pursuits detrimental to their Encouragement - 109

CHAPTER XI.
An Icelandic Friend—Traits of the English Character exemplified in travelling Companions—Amours, Disputes, and a Duel prevented—Courts of Arbitration or Forligelse Commission - 120
CHAPTER XII.
Character and Political Life of Count Bernstorff, late Prime Minister of Denmark 129
CHAPTER XIII.
The Cemetery, or Garden of the Dead 14
CHAPTER XIV.
Excursion on the Road to Elsinore—Anecdotes of a French Lady of Quality—A Christening—The Dress of a Danish Nurse—The Antiquarian - 15
CHAPTER XV.
Love—Marriage—Plighted Faith—Conjugal Happiness, and Infidelity—A domestic Tyrant—Justice and Truth never failing Proofs of an upright Mind-Exemplified in different Instances—Anecdote of an envious Count and a Gol Medal
CHAPTER XVI.
Principal Seats near Copenhagen—Roelighed—A domestic Scene—A friendly Visit from an Enemy—The Spring of Emilia, or the Weeping Eye—Delicious Poison from a pure Spring - 17

CHAPTER XVII.

Royal Museum—Exaggeration of Travellers and Writers—Pontoppidan's Kraken—The State Prisoner, and Sir John Carr's Lamentations—Archenholtz's Description of the King's Bench—The Danish and German Drama - 178

CHAPTER XVIII. Utility of travelling—Horace Walpole's Ideas of Happiness—The Love of Titles -Nine Classes of Society-The Junker of Fashion and English Boy-Delights of Literature—Freedom of Thought, and quick Transition of Ideas CHAPTER XIX. Invasion of Zealand by the Swedes, and Treaty of Roeskild-Again invaded in 1807 by a British Force 198 CHAPTER XX. Plutus and the Graces at variance—Domestic Arrangements at a rich Man's Table-Michaelmas, or Preparations for the Winter-Inhabitants of Amager-The Brazen Dish and successful Gaufre-Man 203 CHAPTER XXI. Conversation with a Danish Lady—Comparison of inanimate Beings with the present Race of Greek Women—Mahomet's Paradise—Calogrians—Occupations of Danish and English Ladies of Fashion contrasted CHAPTER XXII. Departure from Copenhagen—The farewell Kiss—Roeskild—Tombs of the Danish Kings—Arrival in England 218 APPENDIX. Earl Grey's Speech in the House of Lords xviii Treaty of Peace between Denmark and England XXXIX Declaration of the King of Sweden The King of Denmark's Declarations concerning the Cession of Norway to Sweden xliv Prince Christin Frederik's Circular Letter xlv Proclamation to the People of Norway ibid.

xlviii

------ to the Soldiers.

Circular Letter to the Magistrates and Inhabitants in general	xlviii
	WIAIII
Swedish Orders for the blockade of the Norwegian Ports -	- 1
Prince Christian's Letter to the King of Denmark	li
The Crown Prince of Sweden to his Brethren in Arms -	liii
Letters from Norwegian Prisoners of War in England to Monck, Es	q. liv
List of Members of the Regency	lxiii
Count Axel Rosen's Conference with the Regent -	lxiv
The Regent's Speech to the Diet	lxvii
The Regent's Letter to the King of Sweden	lxxi
The People of Norway's Address of Thanks to the Regent -	lxxv
Address to the People of Norway on the Scarcity of Provisions -	lxxviii
Resolutions passed at a Public Meeting at Leith	lxxix
Crown Prince of Sweden to Field Marshal Von Essen -	lxxxix
Prince Christian's Speech to the Diet	xci
Letter to the King of Denmark -	xcv
Documents	xcvii
Address from the Diet, with the offer of the Crown of Norway to Prince	
Christian	c
Prince Christian's Proclamation	ciii
on his Accession to the Throne	civ
Address from the Representatives of the People of Norway to the King	- cv
The Entry of King Christian Frederik into Christiania	cvi
Summons for the general Armament of the Inhabitants of Norway	cix
The New Constitution of Norway	cxi

ERRATA.

Page 30	line 11 for slon read soul.
47	17 for Btaatand read Blaatand.
62	3 for Ducekr read Ducker.
71	26 for earth reud ice.
74	18 for and read rend.
85	20 for her centinels read two centinels.
135	14 for laws established read laws was established.
135	17 for in its consequences read and in its consequences.
154	23 for afterwards disgraced read for a time in disgrace.
153	17 for lieu read lien.
213	16 for his read their.

LIST OF PLATES.

Plate	1.	King of Norway	-		-			-	To	face	the T	'itle
	2.	Christian the Second		-			-		~		Page	18
	3.	Admiral Tordenskiold			-		-			_	•	40
	4.	Waterfall at Hafslund			-			_				56
	5.	Count Struensee	-		~		-		-	_		80
	6.	King of Denmark	-			-		-		-		92
	7.	Burial Ground .			-		-		-		1	140
;	8.	National Dresses	-		-			_		_	9	805
,	9.	Ditto -	-			-				-	9	2 09

INDEX TO THE VIGNETTES.

Page	1		Head	Piece.
------	---	--	------	--------

- 11. Ptarmigan of Norway.
- 25. Dyveke, (emblematical Piece.)
- 36. Mount Dovre.
- 37. Norwegian Music.
- 42. Danish Mythology.
- 66. Medal of Frederickshald, in commemoration of the Death of Charles XII.
- 80. Matilda Queen of Denmark
- 102. Emblematical Piece.
- 108. Pocal.
- 119. Literature and its opposites (emblematical Piece).
- 136. Medal of Count Bernstorff.
- 144. Tomb of Samsoe.
- 146. ------- Priesler.
- 158. Tankard of Gustavns Vasa.
- 172. Medal presented to the Author by the Danish East India Company.
- 189. Interior of a Silver Mine.
- 197. Antient Icelandic Drinking Horn.
- 202. Medal in commemoration of a Battle fought near Copenhagen.
- 210. Brazen Dish.
- 224. Trophies.



A NORTHERN TOUR.

CHAPTER I.

Departure from Harwich—Gottenburg Packet—Storm at Sea—Rocks of Norway—Harbour of Lyngdahl—English Travellers—Severe Frost—Edder-down Beds—Mandahl—Genuine Hospitality—Stoves—Christiansand—Frozen Lakes—Summer Nights—Christian the Seventh's Birth-day—Arrival at Christiania.

"Hæc scripsi non otii abundantiâ, sed amoris ergate."—Tull. Epist.

I have written this, not out of abundance of leisure, but of affection towards you.

It was in the dreary month of January, and conducted by the icy hand of Winter, that I determined to cross the Northern Ocean with the view of accompanying my friend the Hon. C—— to Copenhagen. As affairs of some importance detained

him in London, after we had made the necessary arrangements for our departure, he advised my proceeding to Harwich, where he promised to join me without delay. Contrary winds detained the Gottenburg packet eight days, during which period my patience was so completely exhausted by inhaling continual fogs, and by the miserable appearance and comfortless situation of that wretched sea-port town, that I could no longer resist the sudden but long expected change of weather; and bidding adieu to the shores of Albion, and writing to my intended compagnon de voyage, that I would wait his arrival by the next packet at Gottenburg, I embarked forthwith. I had every reason afterwards to be satisfied with this determination, as I not only arrived in the capital of Denmark, before Mr. A., but avoided a long and dangerous passage which he afterwards encountered, and a narrow escape of being wrecked amongst the floating ice off the coast of Sweden.

The only passengers in the packet, were a young West Indian from the Danish Island of St. Croix, and his agent. I afterwards learnt they were proceeding to Copenhagen in consequence of some pecuniary embarassments, and with a view of raising a loan on the estates of the former.

A brisk gale soon carried us out of sight of land, and during two days we had advanced considerably on our voyage; with a clear transparent sky by day, the moon bursting forth in all her glory lighted us by night, till we made the Dogger-Bank; when a fog, which seemed gathering in our wake, at length enve-

loped us in a misty cloud, and in its baneful train brought an immediate change of wind and weather: the sea, hitherto calm and placid, assumed an angry tone; the swell was heavy; towards the evening it blew a hurricane, and it was with difficulty we'remained in our cots; the hatchways were battened down; but before the stair-head could be closed, we shipped a sea, which drenched us to the skin; and as the storm increased, we ran before the wind, nor "heeded where we went." For several hours the whistling of the wind, the creaking of the planks, the pitching of the vessel, and dashing of the waves, seemed to threaten us with destruction. The storm at length had spent its fury, and towards the morn, was succeeded by a calm, in effect more sickening than the boisterous gale. In the evening the storm again resumed its former violence, and continued its terrific power, during a night of fearful moment to us all; the lights of the Naze of Norway (about four miles distant), were at length discovered. Apprehensive, however, of approaching, we hovered off the coast, till day-break, when a pilot's boat hailed and boarded us. In less than an hour, by the skilful management of these experienced and hardy seamen, we were conducted safely through the narrow opening of the rocks, the ship nearly touching on either side, into a harbour, which barely seemed capable of containing a dozen fishing boats. The sudden cessation of motion, the appearance of the surrounding precipices covered with snow, with only a hut or two scarcely visible, that stood shivering on their tops, and our having so narrowly escaped the perils of the gulfy main, seemed more like the effect of magic than reality. With grateful hearts and eager step we got into the pilot's boat, which soon landed us and our baggage on the friendly shore: it was not without difficulty we climbed the slippery hill, and gained the airy abode of the pilot. We here determined to proceed by water through the inland passage of the rocks to the adjacent village of Lyngdahl, where some arrangements might be made for our journey through Norway, giving up all hopes of prosecuting our voyage by sea to Gottenburg: in fact it was the wisest plan, as we afterwards understood that the packet was ice-bound in the little port she then entered, for the ensuing five weeks. We therefore hired a yawl, rowed by six sturdy seamen: wrapped in my thick Dutch schanzloper, and with a fur cap, I took my station in the stern of the boat, whilst my fellow passengers, but ill-prepared for a northern clime, sat shivering in their usual habiliments; to which, however, they soon added a coarse and better covering to keep out the piercing cold. Englishmen in general, from their luxurious habits, and milder climate, are at first but little prepared to encounter the rigors of a Northern clime. Accustomed to excellent roads, good inns, their wants no sooner known than gratified, and carriages and horses at command; they seem astonished, when first they land upon the Continent, to find a woeful deficiency in these respects; they appear even surprized that the natives do not comprehend their language, and condemn them all for their ignorance and barbarous jargon. This was the case with my two inexperienced companions; but a nipping frost soon

stopped their flippant remarks, and made them hide their chattering teeth beneath a boatman's heavy coat, with a full determination to get a suit of sables the first opportunity that might present itself. Arrived at Lyngdahl, the landlord of the petty inn was alarmed at the sudden appearance of Englishmen, without notice of our approach: he at first concluded we were the avantgarde of another invading force, destined to attack his ill-fated country; but when he heard we were peaceful travellers, who from stress of weather had been thrown upon the coast, his fears subsided, and his native hospitality displayed itself: in less than an hour, our board was covered with a supper congenial to the climate, and most welcome to our appetites. Grouse and ptarmigan, salmon and cod, fresh from the sea, with rye-cakes, satisfied the cravings of hunger; and aqua-vita and hollands, converted into punch, ended the repast. We no longer reflected on the horrors of our voyage, the frozen atmosphere which surrounded us, or the journey we were about to undertake. Lulled to a sound and refreshing sleep by the effect of the somniferous beverage, we sunk upon beds of Edder-down, nor dreamt of future toils.

Beloved country of my forefathers! where in my early youth I first imbibed the rudiments of education; which I quitted with regret; and on whose rocky coast, after so long an absence, I now unexpectedly was thrown, and that at a season when stern Winter frowned, shaking with chilling aspect his hoary locks; and the ice-bound coast barely affording shelter to a half-wrecked vessel. Still was the view of thy barren rocks more welcome to

my sight, than the fairest fields in nature's gay attire; thy cold salubrious air, and piercing frosts, more in kindred with my feelings than basking in the summer's sun: and the hour that landed me on thy shores, will never be obliterated from my memory!

On the morning after our arrival we rose by day-break, and our host having procured us sledges, we commenced our journey. The little Norwegian horse, accustomed to the slippery path, and enlivened by the bells which hang about his neck (and serve to warn the farmer with his heavy load, of the traveller's approach) skimmed the surface of the frozen lakes with rapid step: then penetrating into the deep recesses of a pine or fir wood, with icicles suspended from the branches glistening in the sun, we made our way through narrow roads, whilst the peasant, who supplies the traveller with his horse, and steers his sledge, runs nimbly on, with cheerful countenance, encouraging his little hardy animal. Thus we proceeded; nor did we halt till we reached the town of Mandahl, where my arrival was greeted by the chief inhabitants. Mr. G. with whom I had been long acquainted, was the foremost to welcome me to his house; he insisted on my fellow travellers accompanying me, and quitted us to make due preparation for our reception. As the day was closing, we threw off our travelling dress, and assuming a gayer appearance, repaired to his house; where we were soon surrounded by hospi-After endless compliments and congratulations, table friends. cards and refreshments were introduced; mirth and hilarity ensued, the elder persons drawing near the stoves, on which were placed myrrh, frankincense, and rose-leaves; the younger standing up to dance, till supper was announced, which to my unenlightened companions seemed, by the preparations of the table, more like dinner; for fish, flesh, and fowl were served in such abundance, that full two hours elapsed in presenting the various dishes to the guests; for to refuse to taste of each, would have been the height of incivility to the host, more particularly as Mr. G. was positive we had not eaten any thing since we quitted England; he therefore seemed determined we should make amends for our past abstinence, and plied us with viands and liquids so repeatedly, that we were at last glad to retreat from the fog of meats to our bed-rooms, even though it were to undergo the horrors of digestion. And yet, how greeting is hospitality, that engaging affection which may take root in every nation, but which retreats in general from the seats of opulence and luxury, and is peculiarly the character of the Norwegians; for even the excess to which it is at times carried, in overwhelming strangers with eager tokens of kindness and attention, is more commendable than the frigid courtesy of capitals, where we are received with caution, and treated with overstrained politeness, a refined civilization, without that innate warmth which is found in distant towns, or dwells in huts and cottages. Give me, then, the energetic welcome that springs from the heart; if it be carried to an excess it is a trait of human nature we do not often experience, and may therefore easily overlook the bountiful profusion with which it is accompanied.

The warm air that circulates through the Norwegian houses by means of iron stoves, is in this cold climate, a source of infinite comfort, for which an open grate would be but a sorry substitute, nor give half the heat. The last act of a host's attention to a stranger when he retires to rest, is to fill his stove with wood, that he may not be chilled during the night, and then encompassed in Edder-down, he may bid defiance to the keen external air.

A different mode is adopted in Sweden, where instead of constantly replenishing their glazed tiled stoves, they consume the wood to ashes, and closing the valve of the chimney, retain the heat of the embers as long as possible. This sufficiently warms a room for many hours, if care be taken not to close the valve until the smoke is completely evaporated: a want of due attention in this respect, at a post-house, had nearly suffocated us; but awakened by the noxious smell, I rushed out of the room, calling to my companions, who, exhausted with fatigue, were with difficulty made sensible of their danger.

On quitting Mandahl, my kind host supplied me with a fur pelisse and seal skin boots, lined with lambs' wool, offering me his sledge as far as Christiania, (those on the road being of a most indifferent description); to these he kindly added baskets of provisions and wine, which as we proceeded were of essential service to us. The West Indian and his friend having now likewise supplied themselves with furs, we continued our route under rather more favourable auspices than at its commencement.

We reached Christiansand, a distance of thirty miles, that

evening: the roads, from a heavy fall of snow, had been rendered nearly impassable, an occasional upset enlivened us, although the sudden jerk into the snow from a warm and comfortable birth was not a transition to be relished. In traversing a thick deep wood of firs we could distinguish the howling of the distant wolves, and here and there might trace their footsteps. Of human beings they are rather shy; but when impelled by hunger, occasionally make sad havoc amongst the cattle, goats, and other useful animals.

The Aurora Borealis, or Northern Lights, and a brilliant starlight, rendered every object as visible as at noon day; added to which, the reflection of the moon-beams on an immense expanse of snow, and the glassy ice of the wide extended lakes, firm as the rocks to which it was attached, caused such a lustre, as to render it doubtful which should be preferred, day or night. Scenes like these are rarely witnessed, except in the frozen regions, of which they form an inherent part, and constitute a portion of Nature's beauty, to which a native of a southern clime remains a total stranger.

In the summer nights the horizon, when unclouded, is so clear and luminous, that at midnight one may read, write, and do every kind of work, as in the day. Christian the Fifth, during his stay at Drontheim, in June 1685, used to sup at midnight without the use of lights. In the district of Tromsen, which is properly the extremity of Norway, towards the Islands of Tronmark the sun is continually in view in the midst of summer, and is observed to

circulate day and night round the North Pole, contracting its orbit, and then gradually enlarging, till at length it leaves the horizon: so that in the depth of winter, for some weeks, it is invisible, and all the light perceived at noon, is a faint glimmering of about an hour and an half's continuance; which, as the sun never appears above the horizon, chiefly proceeds from the reflection of the rays on the highest mountains, whose summits are seen more clearly than other objects. However, this glimmering is not the only light with which the inhabitants of these Northern provinces are provided for their fisheries, and other employments in the open air. Beside the moonshine, which, by reflection from the mountains, is exceedingly bright in the vallies and creeks, these Northern people, as well as the peasants and fishermen in the diocese of Bergen, when their day-light is contracted to six hours, find considerable relief from the light of the Aurora Borealis, it often affording them all the light necessary to their ordinary labours, especially as it is now, both here and elsewhere, more frequent and extensive than formerly.

The same hospitality awaited me at Christiansand, that I had experienced at Mandahl: dinners and fêtes would have succeeded each other in rapid rotation, could I have remained with my worthy friends; they however gave me sufficient tokens of their regard; and had I not been anxious to prosecute my journey to Christiania, to witness the celebration of the King's birth-day, which now was near at hand, I might have been tempted to have prolonged my stay; but time pressing, I took a hasty departure,

and continued my route, with little variation, through the towns of Arendal, Scheen, Larwick, and Dram, until I arrived at the Capital, where I had previously determined to remain a week, and refresh myself after the fatigues and labours of a long but interesting journey.



CHAPTER II.

Celebration of the King's Birth-day—Introduction to the Grand Bailiff—Waltzing—French Opinion relative thereto—The Ladies of Christiania—Historical Account of Christian II. and the Fair Dyveke.

Were it not that the towns between Mandahl and Christiania lay at a convenient distance, it would in winter be an irksome task for a traveller to prosecute his journey on this part of the coast, where the accommodations at the inns, or rather houses opened for the convenience of farmers and labourers in the field, are but of an indifferent description. The peasants are obliged by a certain regulation to furnish horses, at a stipulated price, to every traveller, upon receiving due notice of his approach; and as the stages are but short, there is no necessity for remaining longer on the road, than during the exchange of horses, unless a person wishes to refresh himself at stated periods; in which case he unpacks the cold provisions, with which he can be abundantly supplied at the chief towns, and drawing his cork of *Chateau*

[&]quot;L'Amour soumet la terre, assujèttit les Cieux,-

[&]quot;Les Rois sont à ses pieds, il governe les Dieux." --- CORNEILLE.

Margaux, sits comfortably down by the side of a warm stove, till he feels himself sufficiently recruited to continue his journey; when, putting on his fur pelisse, cap, and sealskin boots, and resuming his seat in the sledge, between an upper and an under lining of bear or wolf's skin, he is rapidly conducted by the driver to the next station. By taking the precaution of sending on a messenger, or forbud, the day before, announcing the hour of his arrival at each stage, a traveller is never detained on the road; and it is equally his interest to proceed without delay, as the peasants are not by law compelled to keep their horses waiting beyond the hour, and thus punctuality becomes a matter of necessity, as well as choice.

The hardiness of the Norwegian horse is proverbial; his food, in the depth of winter, is hay, chopt straw, with a few beans, and occasionally a slice of black bread from the hand of his master; a curry-comb never touches his coat, which is long and shaggy; he lays down on the bare boards in his stable, and is turned out without the least preparation; when unharnessed, after a run of ten or twelve miles, he rolls in the snow to refresh himself, and seems but little fatigued by the distance he may have gone. Entire horses are chiefly used for active service, and are mostly of a cream, grey, or light colour, with black manes and tails. The opulent citizen, however, improves the breed, and rides and drives managed horses of a superior race. Fast trotters are at all times preferred; and, as hereafter will be noticed, bear a price in proportion to their merit.

When a severe frost sets in, travelling is very expeditious across the large rivers or lakes, upon the borders of which, for the convenience of shipping, the towns of any magnitude are situated. The inland roads are, on account of the depth of snow, avoided as much as possible; but in such parts where it is necessary to enter rather more into the interior, measures are invariably taken to keep the road open by means of snow-ploughs, which in a triangular shape, or like a wedge, separate and divide the snow in the centre of the road. Were it not for this regulation, it would be impossible for the farmers to carry on their traffic with the neighbouring towns or villages; the correspondence by post would be effectually blocked up and annihilated, and a general stagnation ensue, to the prejudice of all public and private concerns.

A severe winter in England is regarded as a general calamity; we are, in fact, not prepared to encounter a continuance of either frost or heavy falls of snow; we sit shivering by our fire-sides, anticipating the rapid advance in the price of coals. It is the rich alone who can clothe themselves in furs, the lower classes are reduced to the greatest distress; carriage wheels plough up the roads, whilst horses, unprepared for the slippery path, repeatedly fall under the weight of their heavy load, and block up the streets; unless a thaw ensues, the whole kingdom is thrown into confusion, and the daily papers teem with the disasters that have ensued from the unexpected change in our climate. In Norway, on the contrary, intense cold in many parts is indispensably neces-

sary, and of importance to the welfare of the country, as otherwise the peasants who live amongst the mountains, without this severe frost and snow, would neither be able to convey the timber they have felled to the river, nor transport their corn, butter, firs, fire-wood, and other commodities, in their sledges, to market towns, and after the sale of them, carry back the necessaries with which they are there supplied. Thus, what appears, and in fact is a hardship in one country, is a real benefit in another; and it is only by wise regulations and proper precautions, that we can alleviate or remedy the evils, for which we are not prepared by habit or custom.

The day after my arrival at Christiania, I was presented to Count Moltke, the Grand Bailiff, who on the occasion of the King's birth-day had a numerous levee, attended by the principal inhabitants of the town, both civil and military. Etiquette and all the studied forms of precedence and stiff formality, are as much observed on these occasions, as if the representatives of crowned heads bore the title of their imperial or royal masters. A salute from the castle, flying colours, and the ringing of bells, announced the auspicious morn, and though loyalty dictated the commemoration of the event, yet, alas! the unhappy object of it was unconscious of the greetings of his faithful subjects.

A ball was given in the evening, when I had the honour of dancing with the Countess Moltke. I was then for the first time initiated in the art of waltzing; it was well I was taken by surprise, as otherwise I should most probably have preferred a pri-

vate lesson from a less distinguished partner; but, coute qui coute, I was now obliged to whirl round the room with as much dexterity and sang froid as if I had been an adept in the science: the step is easily acquired, not so the grace and elegance with which it ought to be accompanied; and few, except the French or Germans, carry the art to that degree of perfection which makes it an object of interest.

A French writer observes, "Il y a trois sortes de danseurs:—Danseurs de complaisance, pour eux ou pour les autres. Ces sont ceux qui marchent une Valse, pour toucher les mains, les bras, les cuisses d'une femme qui leur plait, ou qui, à la fin d'un bal, dansent pour completer un quadrille, dont les acteurs veulent absolument ne pas pouvoir se soutenir le lendemain.

Une autre classe, et la plus eminente sans doute, se compose des danseurs à prétension. Ils ne préfèrent qu'eux à la danse, ils l'ont étudié, approfondi, perfectionné; ils ne savent que cela, mais ils les savent bien, toute le monde n'est pas digne de danser avec eux. Ils choississent, non seulement leur danseuse, mais les trois couples qu'ils daignent admettre. Ils arrangent cela dans un petit coin, avec autant d'importance que de mystère; un bal est pour eux ce qu'est une séance litéraire publique pour les membres que le lisent. Il faut qu'on fasse cercle autour d'eux, qu'on les remarque, qu'on les admire. S'ils n'ont pas exclusivement fixé l'attention, ce bal n'est qu'une misérable réunion, ou des gens d'un certain ton ne peuvent pas retourner. Ils le persuadent facilement à des femmelettes qui n'ont garde de voir autrement que par les

yeux du grand homme. Il enlève, à l'entrepreneur les plus jolies de ses abonnées, et il lui fait faire banqueroute.

La troisième classe, qui heureusement est la plus nombreuse, rassemble ceux qui aiment la danse pour elle-même, qui en font un exercice amusant et salutaire, et quelque fois un moyen de préférer, sans marquer la préférence. C'est pour eux que l'amour s'exprime par un coup d'œil, par une aimable rougeur. C'est la qu'il avance plus dans une nuit, que dans dix de ces assemblées où tout est froid, compassé, où on s'épie mutuellement."

When the belles of Christiania are in winter invited to a ball, eight or ten miles from the city, they do not break up the party earlier on account of the distance: enveloped in their furs, and escorted by their partners, they throw themselves into their sledges, and frequently find the drive home the most interesting part of the amusement. The lover, in guiding the glittering traineau over the white and dazzling surface of the snow, or flying with velocity along the frozen waters, has more than one opportunity of whispering soft tales of love into the ear of his mistress, who, secure from external cold, allows the frozen avenues to the heart to be gradually melted by the glowing and ardent language of her favourite attendant.

The ceremony of announcing the arrival of each guest at her public balls by sound of trumpet, has rather a harsh effect: it is a distinction that would be "better honored in the breach than the observance;" but little minds are pleased with trifles, and like to be accompanied by noise and bustle.

It was in the year 1507, as reported by Svaningius the Historian, that Christian II. during the reign of his father Hans, first saw the beautiful Dyveke at Bergen; she afterwards became his mistress, and was one of the principal causes of his subsequently being dethroned.

Dyveke, with her mother, Madame Sibrit, resided at Bergen, where they kept a public house; the latter, whose origin was very low, had supported herself at Amsterdam, her native city, in a huckster's shop, by selling nuts and apples. When Christian II. came to Bergen to suppress an insurrection, he heard such inflamed reports of Dyveke's beauty, that being naturally of an amorous disposition, he was resolved to have an interview with the object of his passion. For this purpose, he gave a public dance to the inhabitants of the town, and secretly caused Madame Sibrit and her daughter to be invited. After dancing with some of the principal ladies present, he at last singled out Dyveke (for whom in reality the ball was given) and was so enraptured with her figure and hehaviour, that he caused her to remain the last amongst the guests. He then invited her to a fête at his own residence, where a treaty of alliance was concluded with Madame Sibrit, the chief article of which was, that Dyveke should become the partner of his bed that night.

Hvitfelt observes, that this dance cost Christian his three kingdoms, Denmark, Norway and Sweden; for as Dyveke's mother was a woman of great art and cunning, she afterwards managed



(A. Pl. Still N III Engraved by M. Nicholls

to rule the king most completely, and was the main spring of the government, till by mismanagement it was finally subverted.

After passing some time at Bergen under the magical influence of this second Helen, Christian II. repaired to Christiana, where he caused a stone building to be erected for her future residence, and having made the necessary preparations for her reception, she, together with her mother, rejoined him, and continued to reside there during the time that he was Statholder in Norway. In 1513 Hans, the old king, died, and Christian II. succeeded to the throne. In order to strengthen his alliance with foreign powers, he the following year married Isabella daughter of Philip the First of Spain, who gave her as a bridal present 300,000 guilders, a large sum in those days, as German princesses hitherto had only received 30,000 guilders in dowry. Isabella was a woman of much strength of mind, for which she had great occasion on the reverse of fortune that she afterwards experienced. It was in consequence of her being born in the Netherlands, and partial to the manners and customs of the Dutch, that she persuaded the king to establish a colony of these people in the Island of Amager, which is about four miles long and two broad, close to Copenhagen, in order that her table might be supplied with cheese, butter, and vegetables, à la hollandoise. This colony, which originally consisted of 200 families from Waterland, in North Holland, now consists of between three and four thousand souls; they still continue their original dress, language, customs, and employments, and supply the Capital (as heretofore) with vegetables;

not mixing with the other inhabitants, but intermarrying with each other, with all the pertinacity and phlegm of their progenitors, and will probably so remain for ages, unless a revolution should send them back to the land of their forefathers.

We hear nothing further of Dyveke, till her death in 1517. Most probably the King kept this amour as secret as possible, to avoid giving offence to the new queen. This event being attended with some tragical occurrences, it may not be uninteresting to relate them.

As Dyveke's death was very sudden, at the time she was in the height of her beauty, a report was circulated that she had been carried off by treachery. Some supposed that the friends of the Queen had a hand in this event; others, that the relations of Torben Oxe, the great chamberlain and king's treasurer, (who shewed her marked attentions) were afraid he should marry her, and to avoid a disgrace to the family, had secretly caused her to be poisoned. Be this as it may, (and the fact was never clearly ascertained), the King being jealous of Torben Oxe, chose to suspect him of being perpetrator of the deed; more especially as Torben Oxe had, a day or two previous to Dyveke's death, sent her some cherries as a present. This belief was further strengthened by the report of Torben Oxe's private secretary, Hans Faaborg, who, either out of private pique or to ingratiate himself with the king, confirmed his suspicions in this respect. Hans Faaborg, seizing the advantage of thus being suddenly taken into favour, was weak enough to conceive himself to be a person of some

consequence, and so frequently importuned the King with some new request or other, that Christian was not sorry to find a pretext to get rid of so troublesome a beggar. As Secretary to Torben Oxe, he availed himself of his situation, and became prodigal in his mode of living; this causing some suspicion, the treasurer called upon him, in a summary way, to produce his accounts, which he artfully evaded, and pretended that some leaves in his book of accounts had surreptitiously been torn out; whether this had been done by himself, or by orders of his master, who bore him no good will, does not clearly appear, but it was sufficient evidence to destroy the noxious secretary; for being immediately arrested and put upon his trial, and the fact proved, he received sentence of death, and was publickly hanged, without the king interfering in any shape to save his life, which most probably proceeded from a wish to get him out of the way.

After his death, Christian assumed his former suspicions against the chamberlain; and being a consummate hypocrite, he pretended great friendship, in order to induce him to confess his passion for Dyveke, for which purpose, at a public levee, jocosely addressing him, he exclaimed, "Well, Torben, tell me candidly, did your secretary speak truth when he said, that you had had an intrigue with Dyveke?" Torben Oxe's friends, alarmed at this question, nodded to him to beware of his reply, and he was wise enough to answer in the negative; but being pushed hard by the king, and thinking there was no danger, as Dyveke was dead, he confessed that he certainly had a strong attachment for her, but

it had proceeded no further. The sudden change in the King's countenance denoted to the surrounding courtiers that Torben Oxe had betrayed himself; and one of them whispered in his ear, that "none but the devil could have prompted him to have given so indiscreet a reply." The enemies of the chamberlain took immediate advantage of his critical situation, and by adding fuel to the fire, strengthened the King's belief, until an order was issued for his arrest, and he was confined in the Round Tower. Torben Oxe was accused of having defiled the bed of his monarch, but the judges present gave it as their opinion that this could not be the case, as the king was married; and Dyveke being only his mistress, his bed could not be said to have been defiled. The king on this became exasperated, and finding that the court, in which some of the chamberlain's friends presided, could not be induced to condemn him, resorted to measures, of which no example occurs in Danish History, except in the reign of Christian the Fourth. He summoned twelve farmers from the neighbouring. districts, to hold a court beyond the city gates, where Torben Oxe was put on his trial, and the former accusations brought against him.

Either out of fear of the king, or hatred to the nobility, the twelve farmers, comprising both judge and jury, immediately gave their verdict, "That his own acts condemned him;" a kind of equivocal sentence, which certainly might bear a double interpretation. The king, however, chose to look upon it as a sufficient establishment of his guilt, and passed sentence of death upon him.

Great interest was made to save the life of the supposed culprit. The Queen, the Pope's legate, and the privy council, went upon their knees to intercede for him, but the jealousy of the king was so great, that being secretly urged on by Madame Sibrit, who changed sides when the favourite was disgraced, Torben Oxe was ordered for immediate execution, and beheaded accordingly.

Madame Sibrit appears about this time to have retained all her influence, and to have been consulted on many state occasions, so much so, that Hvitfeldt reports her door to have been thronged with courtiers, who frequently, in the depth of winter, were seen freezing and blowing their fingers, till they could gain admittance. She became of course an object of universal hatred and jealousy, and to her evil counsel was attributed all the disasters that befel the kingdom. The Queen at this time became pregnant, and was shortly afterwards delivered of a prince, who was named Johannes. To the care of Madame Sibrit this infant was delivered, which not only proves her great influence, but the Queen's confidence in her, because she happened to be born in Holland, a nation to which her majesty was peculiarly attached. The populace, in the mean time, took occasional opportunities of lowering Madame Sibrit's pride, and exercising their vengeance on her person. Being accused, amongst other crimes, of witchraft, an anecdote is related of her, which shews the credulity of the times. stated, that the young prince Johannes, from motives of curiosity, took up a bottle that was standing in her chamber window, to examine its contents, but happening to let it fall on the floor, by which it was broken to pieces; the devil, who was supposed to be confined in it, made his escape in a flash of lightening, and a thunder storm ensued, which was heard all over the city. Witchcraft, in this superstitious age, was by many supposed to exist, and of course unaccountable things were attributed to its power; and thus the effect it had over the minds of the people may readily be conceived. At a review which took place out of the city gates, Madame Sibrit wishing to be present, as she was walking over a bridge attended by her maid servant, (for in those days little attention was paid to outward shew), she was met by a couple of drunken farmers, who, availing themselves of so favorable an opportunity of ridding the nation of an object of hatred, without ceremony threw her into the canal, and took to their heels. The circumstance, however, reached the ears of the King (who was probably at no great distance) in sufficient time to rescue her from a watery grave; but as she was being conveyed in a carriage through the city gates, some Roskild soldiers fired at her, but without effect: which proves that a kind of general conspiracy existed against her person. The two farmers were afterwards apprehended, and executed in her presence, as an amende honorable to her insulted dignity.

In the year 1523, when Christian II. was dethroned, in consequence of his many acts of cruelty and oppression, Madame Sibrit consoled him by saying, "Bleibet Ihr nicht König in Dännemarck, so sollet Ihr Burgemeister zu Amsterdam werden:" meaning, that if he no longer remained King of Denmark, she

would at least get him appointed to the station of Burgomaster in Amsterdam. When the King was obliged to quit his dominions, it is asserted that Madame Sibrit was secretly conveyed out of the capital in a trunk, and died some time after in extreme indigence. This historical event has afforded sufficient matter on which to form a dramatic tragedy, and is now frequently performed on the Danish stage, wherein the unfortunate Dyveke is made to appear in the most interesting light.



CHAPTER III.

Observations on Mary Wolstonecroft's Description of Norway
—Game—Sledge-Races on the Ice—Norway the Land of
Hygeia—National Tunes—Pocals—Tordenskiold—Einar
Tambeskiælver, and Olaf Tryggesen King of Norway.

Champions more sturdy than the twain, Few live in Haco's wide domain.

My stay at Christiania was short, much too short, for the gratification of inward feelings, which naturally arose at revisiting a spot where the recollection of early studies, boyish amusements, and the friendships of youth, were deeply imprinted on my memory. The lapse of time had occasioned many alterations; some were dead, others born, my school-fellows were married, and a rising progeny springing up: thus does time, ever changing and varying the affairs of mortals, produce events which preserve us from being totally forgotten; for at least the remembrance of our actions shall live in the minds of our descendants, even though they be not inscribed on the page of history.

When I read the letters of Mary Wolstonecroft, giving a description of Norway, I acknowledge the truth of her observations,

that they are produced by the "vapourings of a heart ill at ease," -"the effusions of a sensibility wounded almost to madness," that "black melancholy hovers round her footsteps," and that "sorrow sheds a mildew over all her prospects." But why infuse that melancholy into the minds of those who peruse her vapouring wanderings. 'Twere better far, that those who travel with a jaundiced eye, and distort the passing objects into a thousand fancied forms and shapes, till they realize all the terrors with which their fretful imaginations are pregnant, should remain quietly at home, nor through the channel of the press give vent to their outrageous self-conceit or misery. But Mary's feelings were too acute to allow their being pent within her breast. There is some consolation in communicating our wrongs to others; and if the public be but interested in our tale, a balm seems administered to the wound, and the suffering object finds relief.

But of what avails it to the public to hear, that Mary's wrongs consist in confiding her plate, which she wished to rescue from the fangs of French republicans, to a Norwegian captain, devoid of principle, who treacherously purloined the whole? That, with her child and nurse, she pursued him by land and sea;—at Laurvig was surrounded by a set of wrangling lawyers; that she was pining for her babe, whom she leaves at Gottenburg, and continued searching for her silver-spoons, and base despoiler, in all directions; or, that this piteors tale is occasionally relieved by the writhings of her soul, when she reflects on an estranged affection, and the tem-

perature of her mind, which for years she had endeavoured to calm, as an "impetuous tide, labouring to make her feelings take an orderly course." In vain, however, was the attempt; for either she loves and admires with warmth, or sinks into bitter sadness; and (although not in the hey-day of youth) with a bosom still glowing, but chilled by sorrow and disappointment, recollecting past enjoyments, and if she blushes at the thought, terming it the "rosy hue of pleasure heightened by female modesty." Is it then surprising, that a defenceless female, travelling through a country, associating with masters of vessels, and having no introduction, beyond that of being an Englishwoman, should abound with false Her imagination being haunted by revolutionary projects, and conclusions formed on the vapourings of sophistry, that the whole government and its people should be subjects of her bitter animadversion? Even the distinctions or trophies of the nobibility, which are placed on the heads of their carriage horses as ornaments, are deemed only "worthy of Hottentots," fatiguing her eye with "their idle motion." She stigmatizes the merchants, as being devoid of common honesty, "whose coarsest feelings are quickly blunted." She feels her breath oppressed, though nothing could be clearer than the atmosphere. Yet "shuddering at the thought of existence," yet remaining in "a solitude of ignorance," she still persuades herself, that she has formed a very just opinion of the character of the Norwegians, although without being able to hold converse with them, or understanding a word of the Danish language. And so far beyond the common stretch of

human intellect does her imagination transport her, that in viewing the wild coast as she sailed along, she, in idea, anticipated the future improvement of the world, observing how much man had still to do, to obtain of the earth all it would yield; extending her speculations as even to advance a million or two of years, to the moment when the earth would perhaps be so perfectly cultivated, and so completely peopled as to render it necessary to inhabit every spot, yes! even the bleak shores of Norway! Yet grasping at a wilder range of floating ideas, her soaring imagination pictures to her the state of man, when the earth, being no longer able to support him, whither shall he then fly from universal famine?—Distressed for the fate of fellow creatures yet unborn, the eimages fasten on her sympathetic mind, and the world appears a vast prison!

Alas, poor Mary! the tenderness of thy feelings and anxiety of soul is most unfortunate; like the maxims or aphorisms of Heraclitus and Democritus, it causes the readers of thy phantasmagorian philosophy, alternately to laugh and cry. Like the ancient philosopher, of unsocial manners and melancholy disposition, thou railest at all mankind, and weepest at the folly, frailty, and vicissitudes of human affairs. To remove himself totally from the society of mankind, he retired to the mountains, feeding on grass in common with their wild inhabitants, a diet which soon brought on a dropsy, and he at length condescended to revisit the town. The enigmatical manner in which Heraclitus consulted his physicians, made his applications unintelligible, and

he was left to depend for cure upon himself. He fixed his residence on a dunghill, in hopes that the continual warmth which prooceeded from it, might dissipate the watery accumulation, and restore him to the enjoyment of his former health; such a remedy, however, proved ineffectual; and the philosopher despairing of cure by the application of ox-dung, suffered himself to die in the sixtieth year of his age.

Peace to thy towering spirit and distempered imagination, sad and woe-worn Mary! Where thou shalt find thy future abode none can tell; but now that the spark of life is flown, God rest thy slou! for, like Cassandra of old, thou hast been a prognosticator of many evils to this eventful globe!

The woods and mountains of Norway abound in game of various description, and the lovers of the chase may find ample means of gratifying their penchant in this respect. I once accompanied a party of twenty gentlemen to a hunting or rather shooting box of Chamberlain Peder Anker, situated in an alpine wood, some distance from Christiania. Provision for a fortnight had been previously sent on, and every preparation made that could tend to exhilirate the spirits, and contribute to the amusement of the party after the fatigues of the day. The mountainous part of the country in which this small domain was placed, and there being no road beyond a foot-path, obliged every sportsman to carry his gun and portmanteau on his horse. The domestics who attended were likewise pretty heavily laden, and followed by

dogs; on the whole, the appearance of above forty individuals pursuing a track in a line through the woods, preceded by clarinets and horns, had a most romantic effect. The house, which was built of wood, was of tolerable magnitude, and ornamented in a simple neat style; comfort was the leading object; and as shooting in the morning, and the convivialities of the table in the evening, by turns occupied our attention, the hours flew rapidly along, and the only regret appeared to be that, when the stock of provisions and choice wines were exhausted, it became necessary to give the signal for breaking up our encampment. The last evening of our residence at the maison du bois, was concluded by a ball; and although it may appear somewhat extraordinary that partners were obtainable on this desolate spot, which sylvans, hamadryads, fauns, and satyrs, alone might be supposed to inhabit; yet on previous notice being given to the peasants who resided within twenty miles of the house, they cheerfully obeyed the summons, and brought their wives and daughters to the rural feast prepared for them, bivouacking in the barns or outhouses.

The Norwegians have a natural turn for music; and even among the boors there are few who are not capable of using a violin, when they thus assemble together. Each country has its natural tunes and dances: the bolero, the fandango, the waltz, the reel, the strathspey and hornpipe, have all their respective claims to pre-eminence; but the Norwegian halling dance, though possibly inferior in grace and elegance of movement, and not possessing many entre-chats and cabrioles, does not yield, in

point of enthusiastic ardour in the performers, to those of other countries.

The game that principally abounds in that part of the country, consist of hares, and different wild-fowl, such as *Tiur* (coq du bois, ou faisan de montagne, Urogallus major.)—*Aar-fughl* (coq de marais, ou petit coq de bois, Urogallus minor.)—*Rypè*, (gélinote de bois) Gallina rustica.

The Tiur is the largest of all Northern birds brought to table; it is nearly the size of a turkey, and measures about two feet and a half from the beak to the extremity of the tail. The plumage of this bird is black, with a red streak about the eyes, a short and aqualine beak, and a little flap or comb hanging from each ear; the feathers under the wings are white, the upper part of the breast of a rich glossy green, the hips are covered with white feathers, and the feet dark. The best time for finding the Tiur is in the beginning of March, the coupling season, at which period he frequents the mountains, and is perched on the tops of high trees, about midnight or by break of day, where he remains crowing and calling the Roye, or hen, till she comes to the spot, when he descends to the ground. At this time he is both blind and deaf to every surrounding object, and is easily shot. If an Aarhan couples with the Roye, the young are termed bastards; they have the head and red comb of the Aar-bird, and the remaining part of the body resembles the Tiur, but much smaller in size. The Roye, or hen, is about one-third less than the cock, with black and brown streaked feathers; she in general lays six, eight, or as many as

twelve eggs, which are hatched in four weeks. The flesh of these birds partakes of the flavour of the pine or fir tops, on which they occasionally feed when wild berries are not to be found; as they are reckoned a great delicacy, particular care is taken in dressing them; they are first steeped in vinegar, to render the meat tender, then soaked in cold water, afterwards larded, and a few cloves and some cinnamon added; salt is thrown over them before they are spitted, and being covered with white paper, they are roasted at a slow fire, and in the mean time well basted: the sauce generally used consists of butter, burnt brown, currant jelly, and fried bread crumbs.

The Aar-cock and hen, is the *Tetrao*, or Grouse, known in the north of England, and in Scotland; they partake of the nature of the Tiur, inhabiting woody and mountainous countries, particularly forests of pines, birch-trees, and junipers, feeding likewise on the tops of the former, and berries of the latter. In the spring, the cock-bird calls the female to its haunts with a loud and shrill voice; their bill is like a crooked cone, with a naked scarlet skin above each eye, and feathered to the toes.

The Rypè, or Ptarmigan, is about fifteen inches in length; its feet is clothed with feathers to the claws, as the hare is with fur; the nails are long, broad, and hollow. They frequently lie in heaps under the snow, to protect themselves from the cold. The plumage of these birds is grey or light brown in summer, and white in winter.

The hares likewise shed their coats, and are of a pure white

colour in winter. Game of the above description is frequently sent in the spring of the year to Copenhagen and to England, as presents, by the first ships from Norway. If the weather be cold they remain in high preservation, and are at all times considered as a bonne bouche, even by an Epicurean palate.

A PARTY being formed with some of the gentlemen of Christiania to make a morning excursion in our sledges to Bogstad, the chief residence and seat of the Hon. Peter Anker; we repaired thither, and were received with an hospitable welcome. The noble proprietor of this fine estate has proved that persevering zeal and talent can even in this cold and severe climate subdue the stern rigour of winter. His gardener (who is a Scotchman), has by unremitting toil, and under the immediate direction of his master, laid out the grounds in the English style, erected a conservatory and hot-house, where exotics blow in luxurious profusion, and pines and grapes are produced in abundance. This, in a climate where, if we believe the learned Bishop Pontoppidan, "the largest rivers with their roaring cataracts are arrested in their course by the frost, and the very spittle is no sooner out of the mouth than it is congealed, and rolls along the ground like hail," is not only an arduous undertaking, but a praiseworthy effort, and might serve as a stimulus to others to overcome the natural difficulties of the soil and climate; but there is an apathy in the minds and actions of mankind in general, which is but too apt to deter them from attempting what is irreconcileable to their ideas, and to

oppose the laws of nature seems a fruitless task, and beyond their power.

In this little excursion, a gentleman of my acquaintance, who was known to possess one of the swiftest trotters in the country, and was desirous to give me a proof of the powers of his favourite horse, desired me to start some time before him; and notwithstanding that I had been provided with a horse of no mean report, I had proceeded no more than two or three miles, and certainly not sparing whip or words to animate my steed, when I heard the rattling bells rapidly approaching; in a moment my friend darted past me with the rapidity of a rein-deer, and in a few minutes was not only beyond my reach, but out of sight. Horses of this description bear a high price, and will trot sixteen to eighteen miles within the hour.

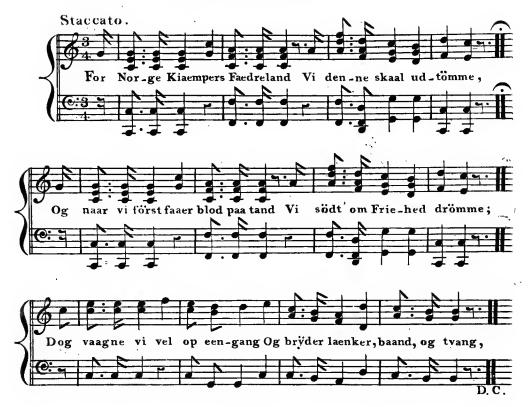
When a match is made, it becomes a most interesting object to witness the general appearance of the scene. The neatness and beauty of the sledges, which, on such occasions, are reduced to the least possible size, having in front the resemblance of different animals, according to the taste or fancy of the proprietor; the animated and expressive countenances of the ladies, who are dressed in a variety of expensive furs, escorted by their respective gallant attendants; the wide expanse of the frozen lake, the glistening snow with which the neighbouring rocks and mountains are covered, and the pure atmosphere, where not a cloud is seen in the vaulted heavens, make one naturally exclaim, "This is the land of Hygeia, her favoured spot, where health may be inhaled

with every breeze! Let those, then, who gasp for breath, and complain of the fogs of England, repair to the shores of Norway; where hoary winter is bereft of half its horrors, and cutting draughts of air from open doors, and half closed windows, are never known; where shivering guests, anticipating by turns a partial heat from grated fires, are strangers in the land; but where a general warmth prevails throughout the house, as genial as the character of the host, whose hospitable doors are never closed against his visitors or friends, and not at home, a dialect unpractised in the country."

When convivial parties assemble together, it is a constant practice during and after dinner, to sing patriotic songs, in praise or memory of departed heroes, or those dedicated to love and friendship: amongst the former there is one chaunt which is seldom omitted, and wherein the company invariably join with enthusiasm. As it unites all these objects in one strain of poetry, it may be interesting to give the tune and translation of the verses.



Norsk Drikke Vise.



2

Og nok en skaal for dig min Ven,
Og for de Norske pige,
Og har du en, saa skaal for den
Og skam faae dem som svige:
Ja, skam faae dem som elsker tvang
Som hader piger, vin og sang
Og nok &c.

3.

Og nok en skaal for Norge's field,
For klipper, snee, og bakker,
Og Dovre's echo raabe held
For skaalen tre gang takker;
Ja tre gang tre, skal alle field
For Norge sönner raabe held,
Og nok &c.

Norwegian Song.

1.

To Norway's weal, the Giant's land,
We empty this our glass,
What though the blood it fires be drawn,
Quick let the goblet pass:
We fall—but Norway shall be free,
And wake to glorious Liberty:
To Norway's weal, the Giant's land,
We empty this our glass.

2.

And now a glass to thee, my friend,
And to our Northern lasses;
Hast thou not one? O! shame to blush—
Joy, as the tribute passes:
Shame on the wretch who bends to wrong,
Who woman hates, or wine or song.
And now a glass to thee, my friend,
And to our Northern lasses.

3.

And now a glass for Norway's hills, Her rocks, her snows, her mountains; Dovré repeats the patriot sound, And thrice his echoing thanks rebound, And three times thrice each answering hill With Norway's praise the air shall fill, And now a glass for Norway's hills, Her rocks, her snows, her mountains.

In days of yore, drinking-horns of curious workmanship were wont to circulate around the festive board: since the discovery of glass, large pocals, embossed with various devices and designs, with rich cut covers, have become substitutes for oak or horn. These pocals, though not so much in use as formerly, when Bacchus had more votaries than in the present day, are nevertheless brought forward at weddings, christenings, or such like gala days. A gentleman at whose house I dined, willing to shew my English friends these cups of merriment, ordered one of his pocals to be produced, and filling it with claret, it was circulated round the table. A second glass, shaped like a large pistol, was then introduced, the barrel was filled with champaigne to the loyal sentiment of "Velgaaende af Gamle Norge" or "Success to old Norway." I trembled for the fate of this antique relic; it however was repeatedly filled and emptied, till it reached the unsteady hand of the young West Indian, who wishing to surpass his neighbours in emptying bumpers, filled it to the brim, but in the hurry of drinking the contents, which at the moment excited his risible faculties, half choked, he dropped the glass upon the floor, and it was dashed into a thousand pieces! To lament the fate of this hereditary curiosity, which could not be replaced, was vain, the host therefore bore his loss with infinite sang froid and good humour: but I inwardly wished my St. Croix companion in the black hole of Calcutta.

Amongst the number of heroes of the North, Tordenskield,

Admiral of the Danish Navy, stands high for valour and preeminent merit: his several engagements with the Swedes are recorded in the history of his life, which is a most interesting work. As a specimen of his zeal and activity in the King's service, it is related, that as he was one day standing at table behind the chair of Frederick IV. he heard the King express a wish to know what his enemies in Sweden thought of him at that period. Tordenskiold retired unperceived, and hurrying to the port, got into his sloop, and sailing over to the Swedish coast, suddenly entered a village, where the inhabitants were celebrating a wedding; he there without ceremony seized the anxious bridegroom, the officiating priest, and an officer who was giving the blushing bride away. With these astonished prisoners, he returned so expeditiously to Copenhagen, that he arrived just as the King was sitting down to supper; and introducing his guests, (who had previously been assured of their safety), he reminded his Majesty of the wish he had expressed a few hours before, adding that he had been fortunate enough to obtain three persons from different classes of society, who personally were enabled to give him every information he might possibly wish on the subject. The King, surprised and gratified by his Admiral's attention and activity, admitted the prisoners to an audience; and after a few questions, released them with handsome presents, as a consolation for their fear and apprehension, ordering them at the same time to be conveyed back without delay to the wretched bride, and her anxious relations.



Etched by W. Nicholls

Leter Tordenskiold .

The Danish History is replete with relations of various acts of bravery of its chiefs, both by land and sea; individual prowess was then more usual than since the discovery of gunpowder, and those destructive engines of war which sweep whole ranks away: whoever signalized themselves in combat, or whose physical powers enabled them to vanquish the enemy, were certain of promotion and reward. Snorre Sturleson relates, that Olaf Tryggesen, King of Norway, and Svend, King of Denmark, having both formed pretensions to the hand of Syritha, a Swedish princess, and the Danish King being preferred, Olaf was so exasperated, that he fitted out a fleet with the intention of attacking and subduing his rival. In this fleet, Einar Tambeskiælver, a man as remarkable for strength and bravery, as his uncommon skill in the use of the bow, had a principal command. The fleet being dispersed in consequence of a storm, several ships were lost, and only eleven vessels remained together; these were by the treachery of Sigund Jarl (one of the King's secret enemies), steered during the night into the midst of the Danish and Swedish fleets, which were stationed in the Sound. On the Norwegians discovering their critical situation, a council of war was held to determine whether it were more advisable to seek safety in flight, or risk the event of so unequal a contest; Olaf Tryggesen, however, relying on the well-known bravery of his followers, declared "that as he never to that hour had turned his back upon his enemies, he would still continue to face them in spite of every obstacle;" and an immediate engagement was the result of his decision. Olaf

attacking his rival's ship with irresistible fury, Svend was soon compelled to retire from the contest; but Olaf's vessel being surrounded by numbers, was, after a hard struggle overpowered, and compelled to surrender. In the hottest of the fight, the great bow of Einar Tambeskiælver broke, which sounding in the King's ear, he enquired what loud and sudden twang that was? To which Einar replied, "Norriges Rige brast af dine Hænder," meaning that the kingdom of Norway now was lost and burst asunder.* Olaf not being able to endure the thought of being taken alive, sprang overboard in his coat of mail, and sunk to rise no more.

^{*} This circumstance reminds one of what is related by Gibbon, where the dexterity of the archer Menelaus is noticed, who could discharge three arrows at the same instant, an advantage which, according to Zosimus's apprehension of military concerns, materially contributed to the victory of Constantius over Magnentius, at the battle of Mursa.



CHAPTER IV.

Heathen Mythology—The Northern Gods, Odin, Thor, and Freya—Description of the Valkyriæ—Valhalla, the Palace of Odin — Icelandic Poem — The Death of Hacon — Danish, Swedish, and English Languages — Etymology and Observations relative to this Subject.

"Mine the task in arms to prove,
When Swein and I to battle move,
Which is most in combat brave,
Hamund's son, or Haco's slave."

I HAVE frequently lamented that the History of Denmark has never been satisfactorily translated into English, more particularly as in the early ages, wherein considerable obscurity prevails, some additional light might thereby be thrown on the period when the Danes made such frequent incursions on the British coast. During the reign of the Danish Kings, their language and manners prevailed through a great part of Britain. To M. de Suhm we owe all that is correctly known concerning the History of Denmark. This learned man, by a perfect knowledge of the ancient languages, and an incredible assiduity in historical researches,

has been enabled to give the public, fourteen quarto volumes, the titles of which are as follows: 1. Upon the Origin of Nations in general; 2. Upon the Origin of the Northern Nations; 3. Concerning Odin and the Mythology of the Northern Nations; 4 and 5. As to the Emigration of the Northern Nations; 6 to 9. Critical History of Denmark; 10. to 13. History of Denmark; 14. Collection of historical pieces concerning Denmark. These works are worthy of translation. The History of Norway was published in 1771, in 3 vols. quarto, by another respectable historian, named Schiönning. The want of translations of these works is in some degree compensated by publications upon the History of Denmark, Norway, and the Dutchies of Sleswig and Holstein, in which Gerhardi and Christiani have availed themselves of the labours of de Suhm and Schiönning.

Before the Christian æra, the Northern nations worshipped different gods, and were rank idolaters. Odin, Freyer, Thor, Thyr, and Freya, were the principal deities, and from whom four of the days in the week have been named. Odin, in Danish, Onsdag, afterwards corrupted into English, Wednesday. Thyr, in Danish, Tirsdag; in English, Tuesday. Thor, or Thursday, and Freyer, Friday. The other days take their origin from the sun, the moon, and Saturn's day.

ODIN was the first Asiatic chief who settled in Denmark, and established the Pagan religion, which existed during several centuries: after his death he was worshipped as the Northern Jupiter.

FREYER, likewise an Asiatic chief, was held next in estimation, more particularly in Sweden, where, at Upsala, a temple was erected to his memory.

THOR was equally in repute; to him were offered human sacrifices. Exclusive of these, FREYA, the Goddess of Love, and THYR, the God of War, were considered as subordinate deities. Odin however was considered as the father of the northern gods; he was likewise termed *Odin Villfaudr*, or Father of War and Desolation.

Like the Greeks and Romans these idolators had their semigods of both sexes. The mansion of Odin was supposed to be inhabited by several virgins, denominated *Valkyriæ*, who were deputed to attend the principal warriors destined to fall in battle, and subsequently to wait on them in Odin's Mansion: they may therefore be termed the *Parcæ* of the ancients. Their names are thus given in Latin, when Odin calls upon them to attend him and the deceased chiefs, with flowing cups of ale and mead:

"Hrista et Mista, volo
Ut mihi cornua porrigant
Skegolda et Skogula,
Hilda et Thruda,
Hlocka et Herfiotra,
Golla, Geira, et Hoda,
Ramgrida et Radgrida,
Et Reginlefa,

Hæ monoheroibus cerevisiam porrigunt He dicuntur Valkyriæ." To these were added Mono-heroes, or the deceased chiefs, by which it appears that Odin established his religion upon the principles of the Greeks and Asiatics, as it is believed he lived in the time of Pompey the Great, and to have quitted Asia Minor, when Pompey conquered Mithridates, and the neighbouring nations. The principal residence of Odin before he took refuge in the North, is stated in the heathen mythology, to have been in Asgardia, near the river Tanais in Scythia,* and was termed Valhalla, from Vall, the name of those who died in battle, and Hall, a large mansion.

Edda describes his palace to have had 540 gates, through which none were admitted, who had not fallen in battle; this acted as a stimulus to the bravery of his subjects or worshippers. On their

Snorrio Sturlæ filio.

^{* &}quot;Ad orientem Tanai confinis regio, fuit dicta Asaland (Asarum terra) et Asaheim (Asarum sedis) caput autem regionis vocarunt Asgard, qua in urbe principatum gessit Othinus, locusque erat amplus, sacrificiis sacer. Ibi id moris erat, ut duodecim essent templorum summi Antistites, illique simul et sacrificiorum arbitri et juris dicendi. Diar hi vocabantur sivi Drottnar, quos officiis colere atque venerari, totius erat populi. In bello perquam strenuus, arme longe lateque circumtulit Othinus, ac multas regiones suæ fecit ditionis. Erat adeo victoriosus, ut quovis in prælio prospera uteretur fortuna; qua re factum est, ut sibi persuaderent ejus milites, propriam ejus, quoties pugnaret, esse victoriam. Erat id ei moris, suos in prælia, aut ad alia negotia mittenti, ut manibus capiti illorum impositis, fausta quævis illis ominaretur; hoc facto, sibi prosperum pollicebantur successum.

[&]quot;Sic quoque mos erat ejus militibus, ut ubicunque locorum, terra marive, periculis objiciebantur, ejus invocarent nomen, quo facto, cum optatum auxilium semper præsto esse videretur, eum præsentem ut Deum tutelarum venerati sunt, Petiit sæpe regionis adeo remotas, ut multos annos itineri daret."

arrival in this abode, they were to be rewarded, and indulged in whatever gratifications they most preferred during their life-time, particularly the flesh of the wild boar, and ale, or strong beer, and mead. After a stated period, they were removed from Valhalla to the celestial regions termed *Gimle*, where they were to remain to all eternity: thus making a distinction or interregnum in their future state of bliss. In like manner, there were two degrees of punishment for the wicked, or idle and dissolute. The first is in Edda's Mythology, termed *Niftheim*, the last *Nastrond*, where they were to suffer eternal misery.

Thus Gimle and Nastrond, were to be the residences of the blessed and damned, to which abodes mortals were to be transported at the final destruction of the world, which was expected to be consumed by fire, and was denominated Ragnorokr, or twilight, the break of day. The belief of this was so firmly established, that a considerable time elapsed, before the Christian religion, in the reign of Harold Btaatand, in the tenth Century, gained sufficient ground to root up and destroy the prejudices and idolatry of the age.

As an elucidation of Odin's dwelling place, and the respect paid to dying or deceased heroes, who were conducted by the Valkyriæ, or virgins of slaughter, to Valhalla, I transcribe an Ode translated by the Honourable William Herbert, in his admirable work of select Icelandic poetry, and which Ode, called *Haconarmal*, was written immediately after the death of King Hacon, in the year 963, by his bard Evind Skaldaspiller, and is

leservedly esteemed one of the most beautiful relics of Northern poetry.

The Death of Hacon.

Gondul and Skogul swiftly flew,
To chuse from Yngva's boasted blood,
What king should wend, with heroes slain,
To dwell in Odin's rich abode.

Unmail'd beneath his banner bright,
They saw Biorn's valiant brother stand:
The javelins flew, the foemen fell,
The storm of war 'gan shake the land.

The army's lord had warn'd the isles,
The bane of Earls, stout Denmark's dread,
With gallant suite of Northmen bold,
High rear'd his eagle-crested head.

The King of Men (before he hied To stir the war with fearless might) To ground, his iron mail had cast, The cumbrous harness of the fight.

He sported with his noble train,
When roused to guard his native land,
Joyful beneath the golden helm,
Now did the dauntless Monarch stand.

His glittering brand the hauberks clove, As if it fell on liquid waves; The falchions clash'd, the bucklers broke, The armour rung beneath the glaives.

Keen burn'd the swords in bleeding wounds,
Long axes bow'd the struggling host;
Loud echoing rang the bossy shields,
Fast rain'd the darts on Storda's coast.

Behind the buckler warriors bled; In fight they joy'd from thirst of gold; Hot flow'd the blood in Odin's storm, The stream of blades whelm'd soldiers bold.

With helmets cleft, and actons pierc'd, The arm'd chiefs rested on the plain: Ah! little thought that valiant host To reach the palace of the slain.

Couching her lance, quoth Gondul fair, "The crew of heaven be now increas'd, Stout Hacon, with his countless host, Is bidden hence to Odin's feast."

The Monarch heard the fatal words,
The steel-clad maids of slaughter bore,
All thoughtful on their steeds they sate,
And held their glittering shields before.

"Why thus (he said) the war divide? From Heaven we merit victory!"—
"Thy force (quoth Skogul) we upheld, We bade thy mighty foemen fly."—

"Fair sisters (cried the virgin bright),
Ride we to Heaven's immortal domes!
Hear, Odin; Lo, to grace thy court,
The King of Men, the victor, comes!"—

"Haste Braga and Hermoder, haste!
To meet the chief (quoth Odin) go!
Hither he wends, whose sturdy arm
Has wrought full many a champion woe."

From war return'd, the battle won,
His limbs shed fast a gory stream,
"Odin, (he cried) fierce Lord of Death,
Thy fell decrees full savage seem!"—

- "The peace of heroes shalt thou have; Quaff with the Gods the sparkling beer! Proud bane of Earls, (great Braga said) Eight valiant brothers hast thou here."—
- "Our arms (the generous King replied)
 These war-worn hands shall never yield;
 Helmet and mail be well preserv'd,
 'Tis good the trusty blade to wield."

Then was it known, that Hacon's hand Due offerings to each power had giv'n; Who to their blissful seats was hail'd By all the glorious host of Heav'n.

Hallow'd the day, and fam'd the year,
That bore a king so largely loved;
His memory be for ever saved,
And bless'd the land, on which he mov'd.

Fenris, the wolf from hell unchain'd, On mortals shall his fury pour, Ere monarch great and good as he Visit this desolated shore.

Wealth perishes, and kindred die, Desert grows every hill and dale; With heathen Gods let Hacon sit, And melancholy swains bewail!

Holberg, the Danish historian, gives us a curious etymology of the English language, which to this day is blended with so many Danish words, as to render even whole sentences intelligible without further translation. He says, that in the time of Canute the Great, all the laws were published in the Saxon tongue, which was then the current language of the country; observing, that from the period of the Anglo-Saxons invading Britain, several languages prevailed. The English, which was spoken by the

Angli, came from Jutland; and their language, by old historians, is termed that of the Cimbres, or Goths. This used to be spoken in all the provinces lying north of the Thames. On the other hand, the Saxon was the language of the inhabitants of the southern provinces: the difference however was not so great, but that they mutually understood each other. Both these languages existed until the Heptarchy was abolished, and the seven small kingdoms united, when the Saxon took precedence with their kings, and the old Angles, or Danish, fell into disuse.

But when a fresh swarm of Danes invaded Britain, they again brought their language into vogue, although that differed in some respect from what the Angles, or South Jytlanders, had heretofore introduced; so that three distinct languages were current, exclusive of the Welch, spoken by the Ancient Britons.

As the Danish was adopted by Canute and his two successors, and spoken at court, it gradually became the current tongue in the provinces; even the West Saxon was amalgamated with it, and lost its original dialect; the same as we now, in later times, see the Danish corrupted by the German, in consequence of that being universally spoken at court, which is the great school, and wherein many affect to interlard their native tongue by borrowed expressions from their superiors. This, then, was the case during the reign of the three Danish Kings; but when their government was overturned, and Edward the Confessor acceded to the throne, the Saxon became again in use till the time of William the Conqueror, who in subduing Britain, introduced the Norman, which

was a mixture of Danish and French. Such is the origin of the present English language, being a mixture and corruption of them all.

A French writer on this subject observes, "Qu'il ne sera pas mal-à-propos de communiquer une remarque assez curieuse sur l'analogie de l'Anglois avec les langues voisines. Tous les mots de nécessité y viennent de l'Allemand; et les mots de luxe et de la table, du François: le ciel, la terre, les élémens, les noms des animaux, des meubles, des mets nécessaires tout cela est le même en Allemand, et en Anglois. Les modes dans les habits et toutes les choses de cuisine, de luxe, ou d'ornement sont tirées des François, et cela à un tel point de précision, que les noms des animaux qui servent à la nourriture ordinaire de l'homme comme bœuf, veau, mouton, se nomment en Anglois comme dans l'Allemand, ocks, calb, schaf, en nature; mais servie sur la table ils changent des noms, et derivent du François, beef, veal, mutton. Tout lecteurs en verra facilement les raisons."

The Swedish and Danish languages have one origin, and are indeed only different dialects of the same language, varied by the manners and characters of the people. They are both pronounced in a singing or chaunting tone; but the Swedes chaunt more quickly, and after lowering the voice upon the penultimate, raise it again upon the last syllable. The Danish words end chiefly in consonants, as bog, hest, bakker, and the Swedish in vowels, of which a is the most common, as boka, hesta, baka. The words in each language mean a book, a horse, a mountain. The Swedish

manner of speaking would inspire even an unintelligent listener with gaiety, whilst the mournful accent of the Danes almost impress one with sensations of melancholy. I have heard it remarked by a Swede, in favour of his own tongue, that it was the language of Paradise; for when the great Creator called to Adam, in the dignified language of Germany, and exclaimed "Wo bist du Adam?" Where art thou, Adam? the latter replied in a soft and gentle Swedish tone, "Här är iag hiärtans Herra!" Here I am, Lord of my heart!

The Swedes, like their ancient allies the French, are a very complimentary people, and invariably use submissive and flattering terms in accosting strangers; but there probably is not the greater reliance to be placed in their professions, or verbose expressions, because our self-conceit is flattered at the moment. An Englishman, or Norwegian, in general speaks the language of the heart, and means what he says; and though the mode in which they thus express themselves is somewhat uncouth, and does not sound like "tinkling cymbals" in the ear, yet it has at least the merit of conveying truth, and dependance may be placed in it.

CHAPTER V.

Departure from Christiania—Moss—Sarp-Foss, the celebrated Water-fall at Hafslund—Chamberlain Rosenkrantz—Disastrous Effect produced by the Cataract in 1702.—Frederickshald—Charles XII. Account of his Death, and Destruction of Part of his Army, in 1719, by intense cold.

"Nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futuræ,
Et servare modum, rebus sublata secundis."—Virgil.

The mind of man is ignorant of fate and future destiny, or of keeping within due bounds when elated by prosperity.

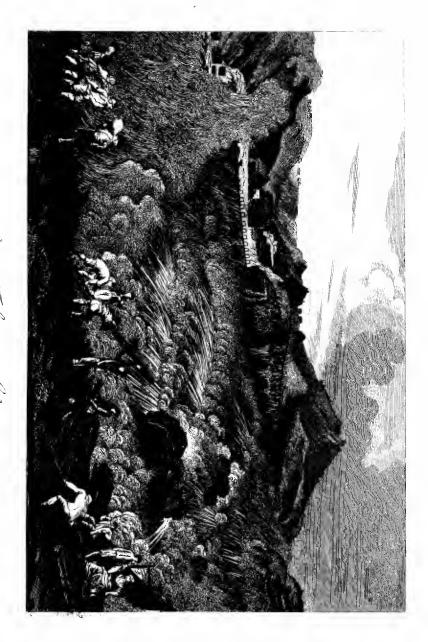
THE festivities of Christiania, and the hospitality of its inhabitants, made me quit that city with regret. Having hired a trusty Norwegian servant, he preceded us, with the view of having horses in readiness at the different relays upon the road; and in this respect, as well as general attention to the wishes of his master, Ole was invaluable.

Moss, the first town of any eminence, is celebrated for its ironfoundery, belonging to the family of the Ankers. A running stream of water, which falls from a considerable height, and keeps the saw-mills in constant activity, gives this place a lively appearance; and the shipping in the harbour, which conveys the produce of the forests to the English ports, are intelligible signs of the industry and wealth of the inhabitants.

From thence we continued our route to Harslund, the residence of Chamberlain Rosenkrantz. It is here where the Glommen appears as a mighty cataract, the roaring of which may be heard at a considerable distance; the foaming waters, and the noise and height of the fall, (about 160 feet), with the rebounding torrent from the dark cavities beneath, fixes the eye with an irresistible impulse; till the floating timber, which is harled down from the precipice above recalls the bewildered imagination from this grand and interesting spectacle, to the utility as well as the magnificence of the waterfall. A number of workmen are employed in collecting the wood, which is thus conveyed from the interior of the country, without having recourse to the tedious and expensive operation of land carriage, and transport it to the neighbouring saw-mills, which are constantly at work.

Seven Obelisks are erected on an eminence close to the fall, to commemorate the visits of as many Kings of Denmark. On this mount I rested an hour, contemplating the grandeur of the scene before me; till I was awakened from my reverie by the voice of Mr. Rosenkrantz, and invited to partake of the luxuries of his table, which to a weary and exhausted traveller was no unwelcome summons.

A melancholy catastrophe occurred in the year 1702 on this interesting spot. On the 5th of February, the superb edifice,



Park Folo near Kalslund

Temben, Lub. Aug. I. 1884, by L. Achtey, Fork I. Lordman Square.

or family seat of Borge, which was situate over against Hafslund, together with every thing in it, sunk down into an abyss of an hundred fathoms deep, the gap being instantaneously filled up by a piece of water between three and four hundred ells long, and half the breadth. The house was doubly walled; but of these, as well as several high towers, not the least trace was seen; four-teen persons and two hundred head of cattle perished on this sad occasion. The Lord and Lady Wærneskiold, two children, and the steward, had the good fortune to save themselves. The Lady being then near her time, was attended by a midwife, who in great consternation came to acquaint them, that the house and ground began to give way; upon which they immediately crossed the water to a seat of her Lord's brother, where the very next day the lady was delivered.

The cause of this extraordinary occurrence was no other, than the river Glommen having probably for a long time in its subterraneous concealment undermined the foundation; for its course is there extremely rapid, and the fall near Sarp, driving above twenty mills, is so violent, that hesides its roarings, which are heard four or five leagues off, its water is thrown up in the air to such a height, that at some distance in dry weather it looks like rain; consequently a rainbow may always be seen here when the sun shines, its rays being frequently refracted among the drops of water, and thus is exhibited the clearest idea of that meteor.

Escorted by Kammer Herre Rosenkrantz and a few friends,

we quitted Hafslund, and after traversing the space that separates this romantic situation from Frederickshald, and admiring the wild beauties of the country through which we passed, arrived the same evening at the boundaries of Norway. FREDERICKSHALD is protected by a formidable garrison, and being a frontier town has been subject to more than one attack from its restless neighbours. In 1658, Charles Gustavus made an unsuccessful attempt on this place; but was repulsed after a gallant resistance. Frederickshald had enjoyed a long uninterrupted tranquillity, when Charles the Twelfth, in 1716, attempted to conquer Norway. This post appeared to him the most prominent object of his comprehensive plan, and he accordingly applied his utmost exertions to its reduc-In the mean time the fort Fredericksteen was completed; the native forces and inhabitants, therefore, conceived the defence of the latter of much greater importance than that of the former, in case they proved too weak for the protection of both.

Charles the Twelfth first attacked the fort, and the inhabitants on this occasion were not inactive; they had procured a praam, upon which they annoyed the enemy with great effect, and made frequent sallies from the town. But Charles soon put an end to their offensive operations; for, seeing the impossibility of reducing the fort without previously taking the town, he one morning placed himself at the head of his men, and led them on to the attack of it. He encountered a most gallant resistance from the citizens, every inch of ground being resolutely defended; but the superiority of his numbers at last prevailed, and the town was taken.

Notwithstanding Charles was thus become master of the place, the inhabitants did not acknowledge his authority. Some of themretired to the fort, and others went on board the praam, or concealed themselves in the neighbouring mountains. From all quarters a constant fire was kept upon the town, especially from the fort, to expel the enemy; lest, protected by the houses, his attackon the fort might be facilitated, and rendered more tremendous. A few hours after the capture of the town, Charles sent a trumpeter to the fort to solicit a truce; he was however sent back with this answer: "His Swedish Majesty being an uninvited guest, it is our duty to send him whence he came." The fidelity with which the garrison meant to keep their promise was soon evident to Charles; for when they found it impossible to dislodge their enemy by the mere execution of cannon, they desperately set fire to the town. One of the most uncommon scenes now took place ever recorded in history: the citizens eagerly hastened to burn their own houses, while the enemy in vain sought to extinguish the increasing flames.

This scene of horror was considerably augmented by the artillery from the fort and the praam. Charles XII. whom nature had endowed with an invincible spirit, strengthened by a familiarity with danger, stood appalled at this extraordinary spectacle, and leaving the town, abandoned the siege immediately afterwards. This attempt cost the Swedes upwards of fifteen hundred men.

The next year Charles returned to Norway, fully determined

to reduce the fort, cost what it would. It was then, and at the foot of this impregnable fortress, which is seen frowning from the summit of lofty rocks, that he finished his mortal career.

Some authors endeavour to prove that he was assassinated by treachery, and that Frederic Prince of Hesse, who had espoused his youngest sister, Ulrica Eleonora, and was soon afterwards raised to the throne, was not wholly unsuspected of being concerned in his death. Others again assert, that he fell by a ball from the Danish batteries.

As it is impossible to pass this fortress without feeling some degree of interest, and indeed curiosity, relative to the fate of this singular character, it may not be deemed impertinent by those who have not perused Coxe's Tour, to make an extract from his description, relative to the circumstances attending the death of Charles. To those, however, who wish for more accurate information, a reference may be had to Voltaire, and a most elaborate and splendid work in German, 3 vol. folio, printed in 1745, containing numerous engravings and minute particulars as to the life, military career, and death of the King of Sweden.

"On the 30th November, Charles XII. visited his trenches at the siege of Frederickshald, advanced as far as a bastion, which he mounted, and leaning his arm upon the parapet, seemed to examine the progress of the works. The Danish batteries were playing upon the trenches, and continued a constant fire, with great and small shot, to which the King exposed himself as usual, without the least caution; in that attitude he received a ball in

his temple, fell upon the parapet, and instantly expired. There were with him two French officers, Maigret, the engineer who conducted the siege, and Siguier, his aide-du-camp. Behind, at some distance were, amongst others, Count Schwerin, who commanded the trenches, Count Possé, Captain of the Guards, and Culbert, an aide-du-camp. According to Voltaire, the two Frenchmen seeing the King fall, and hearing him utter at the same time a deep sigh, approached and found him dead. It being determined to conceal the fatal accident, Siguier, who was devoted to the Prince of Hesse, took off the King's hat, and wrapping the body in a grey cloak, ordered it to be transported to his quarters, as that of an officer who was just killed. Siguier himself flew without delay to the Prince of Hesse, who was quartered at Torpum, about the distance of three quarters of a Swedish mile. The Prince was at supper with some generals and officers. Siguier, without being announced, approached and whispered the prince, the latter did the same to the person who sat next to him, and the whisper being circulated round the company in the same manner, the Prince retired from table, gave immediate order for posthorses, and was conveyed to the place where the King was killed The Prince ordered the generals and officers who were present, to place the body in a litter, and to convey it to the head-quarters: one-and-twenty soldiers standing around with wax-tapers in their It was observed that the King, in the agonies of death, had drawn his sword half out of the scabbard, and that the hilt was so tightly grasped by the right hand, as not to be disengaged without difficulty. The body was no sooner removed, than the Prince held a council with the officers, when it was determined to raise the siege, and to dispatch Field Mashal Ducekr to Landsborg, in order to prevent any one from passing to the enemy, and spreading the report of the King's death; but this precaution was too late, as that very night a Swedish lieutenant, accompanied by a drummer, went over the Glommen to the enemy, and acquainted them with the circumstance."

Thus fell a hero! who by his personal bravery and courage, though in the prosecution of rash and ambitious projects, has immortalised his name to the latest day of posterity.*

It was soon after the death of this enterprising prince, in the month of February, that 7000, some say 9000, Swedish soldiers, together with their officers, perished in a most deplorable manner on the mountains of Ruden, or Tydal, which separate Jempteland in Sweden, from the diocese of Trondheim in Norway, without any other enemy than the extreme cold, which surprised them on the ridge of those mountains, where nobody could come to their assistance. The affair is thus related:

"In the autumn of the preceding year, this corps, which then consisted of 10,000 men, had penetrated into the country, and

^{*} It is rather a singular circumstance that this impregnable fortress, at the foot of which Charles XII. (after a fruitless attempt to take it by storm) lost his life in 1718, should have been surrendered in the treaty of Kiel, 1814, by a dash of the pen, to the Swedish government under a foreign prince. Such, however, is the mutability of all human affairs!

appeared to have a design on Trondheim, thereby to clear a passage for the main army, which was at that time under the command of the King in person, who had made an irruption near Frederickshald, and to facilitate its further progress into Norway; but the gallant General Budde, who in the last invasion of the Swedes had done his country great service, made such good dispositions against the enemy, that they laid aside their design of attempting Trondheim, and cantoned themselves among the peasants till the beginning of the year 1719: when, though late, they received an account by express of the unexpected death of the King before Frederickshald. Soon after advice coming that Count Sponeck was in full march towards them, they had orders to make the most precipitate retreat over these desert and lofty mountains; but just as they had reached the frontiers of their own country, they were overtaken by a storm, accompanied with an extreme cold, and much snow, which so bewildered them, that most of them perished. A company of 200 Norwegian sledgemen, under Major Einakers, which followed them close to observe their retreat, found the enemy dead upon the mountains, some sitting, some lying, and some in a posture of prayer, all frozen to death.

How great their distress must have been, may be judged from their cutting their muskets to pieces, in order to burn what little fuel they could raise from them. The Generals Labarre and Zoega were among the dead; the Generals Adlerfeld and Horn barely escaped with their lives; and of the whole body, only 2500, or according to others no more than 500, survived this dreadful catastrophe."

The following lines of Dr. Johnson, on the vanity of human wishes, are fully descriptive of the character of the Swedish hero:

"On what foundation stands the warrior's pride, How just his hopes, let Swedish Charles decide; A frame of adamant, a soul of fire, No dangers fright him, and no labours tire; O'er love, o'er fear, extends his wide domain, Unconquer'd lord of pleasure and of pain; No joys to him pacific sceptres yield, War sounds the trump, he rushes to the field; Behold surrounding kings their pow'rs combine, And one capitulate, and one resign; Peace courts his hand, but spreads her charms in vain, "Think nothing gain'd," he cries, "till nought remain, "On Moscow's walls till Gothic standards fly, "And all be mine beneath the polar sky." The march begins in military state, And nations on his eye suspended wait; Stern Famine guards the solitary coast, And Winter barricades the realms of Frost; He comes, nor want nor cold his course delay;— Hide, blushing glory, hide Pultawa's day: The vanquish'd hero leaves his broken bands, And shews his miseries in distant lands;

Condemn'd a needy supplicant to wait,
While ladies interpose, and slaves debate.
But did not Chance at length her error mend?
Did no subverted empire mark his end?
Did rival monarchs give the fatal wound?
Or hostile millions press him to the ground?
His fall was destin'd to a barren strand,
A petty fortress, and a dubious hand;
He left a name, at which the world grew pale,
To point a moral, or adorn a tale."

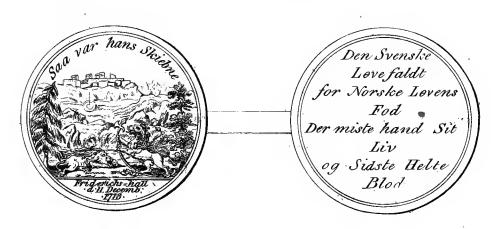
At Frederickshald, my former intimate acquaintance, Mr. T—did not fail to return the hospitalities he had experienced whilst in England. How acceptable are reciprocal acts of kindness and attention, when divested of the unmeaning outward shew of form and ceremony, which fatigue the eye and never reach the heart! How preferable the welcome to simple fare, than to the board groaning under profusion, where etiquette is studied in the arrangement of the titled guests, and dull uniformity prevails throughout the lengthened hour, till surfeited with wine and viands, we vainly seek repose upon a restless pillow! My friend and his amiable wife exerted themselves during three days that I remained under their hospitable roof to give me repeated proofs of their attachment, and when I left their abode, my worthy host insisted on accompanying me to the opposite shore of Sweden.

On quitting Norway, some lines of Rogers, on the Pleasures of Memory, forcibly occurred to me:

"Sweet Memory, wafted by thy gentle gale,
Oft up the stream of Time I turn my sail,
To view the fairy haunts of long lost hours,
Blest with far greener shades, far fresher flowers.
Ages and climes remote to thee impart

What charms in Genius, and refines in Art:
Thee, in whose hand the keys of Science dwell,
The pensive portress of her holy cell,
Whose constant vigils chase the chilling damp,
Oblivion steals upon her vestal lamp.—

The intrepid Swiss that guards a foreign shore,
Condemn'd to climb his mountain cliffs no more,
If chance he hear the song so sweetly wild,
Which on those cliffs his infant hours beguil'd,
Melts at the long-lost scenes that round him rise,
And sinks a martyr to repentant sighs."



CHAPTER VI.

Gottenborg—A singular Character—Etiquette in Ball-rooms— Swedish women compared with those in Denmark—Departure—Helsinborg—Dangerous Passage of the Sound in Iceboats, and Arrival at Copenhagen.

"Qui que tu sois voici ton maître
Il l'est, le fut—ou le doit être."

On my arrival at the principal Inn in Gottenborg, I was serenaded by a band of music, consisting of clarinets, hautboys, French horns, and a trumpet, which, upon enquiry, I found was a usual compliment when strangers entered the town, and for which in return a douceur was expected. Having dismissed these noisy gentry, and sent my passport to the Governor, which was immediately indorsed and returned to me by a subaltern, who likewise expected his fee of office; I proceeded to wait upon Mr. H—, an eminent merchant, and the most singular character in Gottenborg. This extraordinary man bore the external marks of a savage, but was inwardly the mildest being breathing. Possessed of an immense fortune, considerable estates, and a magnificent house, he seemed the character from which a misanthrope would be drawn. For

years a razor had not crossed his chin; the Barbier de Seville would have expended all his rhetoric to no purpose to ease him of his growing crop: Like Hudibras,

"His tawny beard was th' equal grace
Both of his wisdom and his face;
In cut and dye so like a tile,
A sudden view it would beguile:
The upper part thereof was whey,
The nether orange mixt with grey."

His outward garment was never changed, and in vain the enquiring eye sought for the bare appearance of linen. And yet this man, who had so rough a case, possessed a heart that might have graced a star and ribbon.

When the city had nearly been destroyed by fire, he was one of the foremost to offer shelter to the destitute, nor rested till the wants of the houseless were relieved. Hospitable to strangers, I found him surrounded by an English lady of rank and her family, who could not find sufficient accommodation at an inn; nor had I any reason to be disatisfied with his urbanity and politeness; he even accompanied me to a subscription ball in the evening; and although, at any other place, I should have been somewhat shy in being introduced by a man not much unlike the graminivorous Nebuchadnezzar; yet here he was too well known to disgrace any one. Of what strange materials are not mortals formed! this rich, worthy, timid, and fierce looking man, was a victim to the all-

subduing power of Cupid, whose darts had penetrated his roughcast frame:—

"Love, under Friendship's vesture white,
Laughs, his little limbs concealing:
And oft in sport, and oft in spite,
Like pity meets the dazzled sight,
Smiles through his tears revealing.

But now as Rage the God appears,
He frowns, and tempests shake his frame!
Frowning, or smiling, or in tears,
'Tis Love, and Love is still the same.'

ROGERS.

Mr. H— had paid his addresses and made offers in due form to more than one beauteous damsel in Gottenborg; but betwixt him and connubial happiness a beard of no small length and width rudely interposed. Rejected unless he shaved, he still preferred his patriarchal honours to the charms of love: long was the contest between the outward and the inward man, till irresistible nature forced his stubborn will to capitulate; he surrendered, without conditions, the ornament of his chin; for once in life assumed the dress and appearance of a modern man, and at the *fourth* offer was accepted, and became a Benedict!

A SINGULAR custom prevails at the public balls in Sweden, by the men throwing their gloves, after dancing, upon the spot they first occupied. It is maintaining the right of tenure and pre-occupancy; whoever removes this token of defiance, may as well prepare to draw his sword: it would be the inevitable consequence of so rash an act. It might be well, if this custom were equally adopted at our English balls, where for want of proper regulations, (by which it would be the interest of all to abide) the dancers are crowded together and thrown into such dire confusion, that it is a vain attempt to force their passage down the room! whilst those who are disengaged, regardless of the mystic dance, are crossed in all directions, flirting with their partners, or jostling for precedence, in such close contact, as if every inch of ground was to be disputed.

The women in Sweden are well made, have an animated air, expressive countenances, and light figures; in Denmark they are rather more inclined to be corpulent, and duller in conversation. The women of both countries are handsome, amiable, and, consistent with their sphere in life, well educated; having delicate, and for the most part fair complexions, blue eyes, and fine hair. The first seem more susceptible of the desires, the latter of the tenderness of love. In Denmark, the middle and lower classes are very fond of shew, and their dress, which is prepared with great care and obtained at any rate, is composed of materials of many colours, amongst which red is the most prevalent.

The Swedish women of the same condition always wear veils, and indeed those employed in the labours of the field in general, wear black crape, an useful custom in a country where the eyes are liable to be weakened by the glare of the snow in winter, and the reflection of the sun from the rocks during the long summer days. In other respects, the ordinary neat dress of the lower classes is more attracting than those of the same description in either Denmark or Norway. The domestic virtues of the latter bear the palm, however, when contrasted with their neighbours.

Sweden has politically been so long allied to France, that its freedom of manners has imperceptibly found its way into the higher circles; and at Stockholm, where considerable luxury prevails, it is accompanied by a depravity which yields not to the Parisians, and the man of gallantry has ample scope to gratify his intriguing disposition.

A sudden change of weather, from a hard frost to a rapid thaw, accompanied by sleet and rain, reminded us of the necessity, after a short stay, of quitting Gottenborg, in order, if possible, to cross the Sound before the change in the atmosphere had made too strong an impression on the ice. We accordingly took our departure in sledges, but before we had measured half the distance to Helsingborg, we found the roads so much cut up by the melting of the snow, that we were compelled to have recourse to a four wheeled vehicle. The quick transition to this state of elevation, brought to my recollection the surprize which the simple Peruvians experienced, on witnessing the Spaniards mounted on their chargers. Accustomed to travel within a few inches of the earth, and gliding gently on the earth or snow, we now ascended a

dangerous height, ever and anon rattling over uneven surfaces, or sinking into deep ruts, in a kind of open cart, to which the luxury of springs were unknown; seated upon some straw, and clinging to our baggage, we were jostled from one stage to another, till benumbed with cold, and drenched with rain, we at length reached the town of Helsingborg, happy to arrive at an inn where we could satisfy the cravings of the stomach, and thaw our benumbed limbs into animation.

The Sound, which I viewed from the window of the inn, appeared like hillocks of ice, which here and there, the current moved backwards and forwards in various directions. Elsinore, the Castle of Cronborg, and the shores of Zealand, filled up the magnificent prospect; but the sublimity of it was lost, in contemplating the risque and danger of the passage. We determined, however, to attempt it in ice-boats, although but a few hours previous to our arrival, one had been crushed between the masses of floating ice, and six men had fallen victims to their temerity.

After resting for the night, and making the necessary preparations, by hiring a couple of strong boats, and a dozen men, with short spikes attached to the soles of their feet to give them a firm footing, we began our difficult career: for about a hundred yards the ice was sufficiently strong to bear our weight; we therefore walked close to the boats, which were dragged along by our conductors. On a signal being made by the foremost man that the ice was giving way, we all leaped into the boats, and with a sudden crash sunk into the sea. Now commenced the difficult part of the navigation: by means of long poles and boat-hooks, the heavy masses of ice which obstructed our passage, were separated, driven on each side, or immersed into the sea. It was like forcing our way through a crowd of floating rocks, and was attended with considerable labour, fatigue, and risk. After gaining a few yards by this slow process, we found the ice again strong enough to bear our weight; the boats were hauled upon the surface, and we continued our slippery path, until the uncertain foundation again gave way, and we were once more immersed in the flowing stream.

In addition to our difficulties, we were, when half across the Channel, overtaken by a sudden fall of snow, which instantly hid the opposite shores from our sight; without a compass, which at the moment of embarkation, when the sun shone bright, had been overlooked or forgotten, it was impossible to ascertain what direction we were pursuing. The Castle of Cronborg had disappeared, and nought presented itself to our view but ice moving and cracking in all directions, with a chance of floating with the stream into the Cattegat.

"So the boat's brawny crew the current stem,
And, slow advancing, struggle with the stream:
But if they slack their hands, or cease to strive,
Then down the flood with headlong haste they drive."

DRYDEN.

For half an hour we were kept in a state of the most unpleasant suspense, in "a nipping and an eager air," and frost-bitten with.

the cold. When the storm subsided, the atmosphere assumed its former brightness; and after a few animating drams, our robust Swedes assumed their laborious task, and we gradually approached the Danish shore, from which the persons assembled anxiously looked for our arrival. We hailed them at a distance, they procured additional ropes, and being once more hauled on the surface of the ice, in a few minutes were safely landed at the foot of the Castle. We here rewarded our hardy seamen for their past exertions; and entering the town of Elsinore, reposed for a few hours after our labours.

Without taking the pains of ordinary travellers, to investigate and discover the exact spot where Fengo, Hamlet's uncle, poisoned his brother Horwendillus, or citing Shakspeare's ghost to appear and explain the bloody deed, we e'en took post, and charging our drivers to use all speed in approaching the capital, scarcely stopped till we reached the gates of the city. "Wer ist da?" resounded from the centinels at the foot of the drawbridge: "Der Dänische Consul von London, and zwey reisenden," was the reply. Passports were produced and countersigned: "Lass passiren," exclaimed the officer on guard; and in five minutes we alighted on the Kongens Nye Torv, at one of the best hotels in Copenhagen.

CHAPTER VII.

Copenhagen—Routine of Visits and Engagements—Society in general—A married Man's grievances; a Bas Bleue, not the most desirable Companion—The Danish Theatre—The late King—Some Allusions to Matilda and Struensee—Royal Palace—Conflagration—Frederick VI.

"Les hommes sont égaux, ce n'est point la naissance,
C'est la seule vertu qui fait la différence." Voltaire.

When a traveller enters a city, where he is either known personally, or par renommée, his first occupation, in general, is to procure suitable apartments at the best hotel, to send his valet de place for an equipage, and issue a flight of visiting cards, not only to his acquaintance, but to those in higher stations, who may expect his visits proforma, which in general are paid with as much sincerity as they are returned; this therefore was the serious business of three entire days; in which time, I had discharged a debt of ceremony to about a hundred persons of different descriptions de haut-en-bas; and in the same space, the mirror over the

mantle-piece of my apartment, was decorated with tickets announcing the rank, name, and residence of all the illustrious persons in question. Now commenced the routine of engagements, and cards of invitation flocked in faster than Ole, my Norwegian courier, and a Danish domestique de louage could well hand them to each other, and arrange them on my dressing table. As the number of public places of amusement at Copenhagen is very limited, private parties are the more frequent; but as cards form a very preponderating part of such entertainments, it is highly necessary for a person dans le beau monde, to understand whist, l'ombre, or boston, without which qualification, he might wander unnoticed in the circle of fashion. As a kind of stimulus to this system of diurnal speculation, the house-openers give grand dinners; and when they rise from table, which is in general about seven o'clock, they adjourn for an hour to their own homes, or pass the time in paying evening visits, which gives an opportunity to the lady of the house, (few men servants being kept,) to reestablish the economy of her apartments, arrange the card tables, and light up the lustres in her drawing rooms, before the guests return.

There are certain persons of opulence who have their regular days of entertainment in the week, to whose houses, if a general invitation be given, strangers may resort during the winter season. Plays, balls, and public masquerades fill up the remaining time; and as society, from the size of the capital, is necessarily limited, an *inconnu* may very soon establish a general acquaintance, that

will enable him to pass his leisure hours infinitely more to his satisfaction, than in such overgrown cities as London and Paris; where, unless he be a person of distinguished rank, he is soon lost, or thrown in the background, in the vertex of dissipation and crowded rooms.

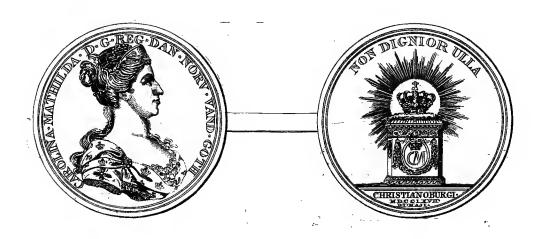
Since the destructive fire in 1795, the city of Copenhagen has assumed a more regular appearance than before that period of general calamity. Voltaire's maxim of "Tout est pour le mieux," has in this instance been realised; for out of evil, good has arisen. Some of the principal merchants, whose speculations, founded on the wise system of neutral policy observed by the government, turned to good account, and who realised considerable property, have built houses which vie with the mansions of the great. When the Duke of Gloucester visited this city, in his tour to the North of Europe, he was lodged during his stay in the house of an eminent merchant, which in point of magnitude was superior to his own in England. Notwithstanding that this individual was in the most affluent circumstances, and, like Midas, everything he touched had been converted into gold; yet his happiness was equally as incomplete as that of the celebrated King of Phrygia: domestic discontent harrassed his mind on all occasions. He had formed a matrimonial alliance with the daughter of a learned Professor, who had studied the abstruse sciences with her father, until she became nearly as learned as himself. Of this, the speculative Conseiller d'Etat was not aware, until upon an increase

of family, he discovered the wonderful mental superiority, and irresistible force of argumentative powers in his wife, so completely militated with his ideas of domestic comforts, that he proclaimed his misery aloud: added to which, the nervous affections, irritability of mind, and an unfortunate deafness to which Madame was subject, rendered her so determined an invalid, that she seldom quitted her couch, or chamber of repose. Upon rising from table, after a grand entertainment which the Conseiller d'Etat had given to a numerous party, I had an opportunity of seeing this extraordinary lady; the guests being admitted into her drawing room, which was partially lighted with transparent alabaster lamps and vases. We found her reclined on a couch, surrounded by her three daughters, who gratified the company by a display of their musical talents, accompanied by some professional performers. The result of a few adagios and allegros, were however soon visible on the tender nerves of their sickly mother; she had fainted at the overwhelming sounds, and completely destroyed the fine effect of her daughters' vocal powers, by the introduction of attendants, with æther, salts, and hartshorn, to the great mortification of their auditors.

This was sufficient for our host to enlarge on the domestic evils to which he was so frequently subject; and he did not fail to take so favourable an opportunity of recommending his wife to make a journey to Spa, and try the effect of its salubrious waters. I could not on this occasion avoid smiling at an exclamation of the *Conseiller d'Etat*, on hearing that a person of his acquaintance had,

about the same time, gained a prize in the lottery and lost his wife: "Was doch der Mann gluck hat!" What fortune attends this man! he cried; hinting that such instances of worldly happiness were scarcely in reserve for him.

THE Danish Theatre being considered as royal property, and subject to his Majesty's regulations, who appoints one of his chamberlains as the chief director, it unavoidably suffers for want of that system of enterprize which best promote all theatrical undertakings; the boxes are the exclusive annual property of private individuals; the pit is opened to the public, but the parquet is the only place frequented by les gens comme il faut. The house is badly lighted, from motives of economy, and with a view of giving a greater lustre to the stage; but as the exclusion of light, by raising the centre chandelier during the performance, naturally throws a gloom over the audience, the female part of it have no inducement to dress to advantage, and shawls bear a most preponderating portion of their exterior decorations. The late King, whose chief amusement consisted in frequenting the theatre, was a melancholy instance of the nothingness of man, where intellect is wanting. In the state of mental derangement under which he had laboured for many years, he was only nominally King, the Prince Royal governing the realm; the public acts were for form's sake signed by his Majesty, who once ironically subscribed them, "Christian VII. and Co."



On perusing the partial accounts given by most writers of the indignities to which Matilda is said to have been exposed, at the revolution in 1772, when, during the imbecility of the King, the government was wrested from her hands, and those of her intriguing and ambitious minister Struensee, by the Queen Dowager Juliana and her party; I cannot but attribute such reflections in some measure to local or national prejudices, which would fain gloss over Matilda's errors, by heightening the culpability of her enemies.

In opposition to this want of candour, in which many historians are but too apt to indulge, we need only take the testimony of living witnesses, who can vouch for her imprudent conduct and want of public decency on many occasions: a woman who could assume



Etched by W. Nicholls

COUNT STRUENSEE,

Beheaded in 1772.

male attire, and ride en culottes at the head of her guards, can certainly not be said to have many pretensions to female delicacy.

Of her intimate connection with her favourite minister, there seems not to be the shadow of a doubt; it was one of the chief articles in Struensee's accusations, not denied by him, and partially confessed by herself. I have heard one of her pages assert, that whilst playing in the Knight's Saloon at the palace, he accidentally fell against a concealed door in the wall, which, leading to a long passage, discovered the Queen and her paramour tête-à-tête, to their no small surprise and mortification. The unfortunate Struensee, however, paid dearly for his want of due precaution in the furtherance of his ambitious projects, or reform of publick abuses; not satisfied with the pruning knife, he had recourse to the hatchet, by which his own existence was eventually terminated, and Matilda's futile power levelled with the ground. Her subsequent misfortunes, the result of her own weakness, and the inveteracy of her enemies, are themes which have afforded ample scope for the writers of the day; but like the historians of Mary of Scotland, they are too apt, when the unfortunate sufferer has any claim to personal beauty or mental accomplishments, to screen the vices of the royal victim, by adding to the malignity of their opponents.

Amongst the various writers who have taken the trouble to give an account of the Revolution which occurred in Denmark in 1772, none has appeared to me so perfectly impartial as that published at Halle, under the title "Zuverlässige Nachricht von der in Dännemark den 17 Jenner 1772, vorgefallenen grossen Staats verän-

derung, den leben umständen der merkwürdigstan Personen des König: Dänischen Hofes, wie auch der Staatsgefangenen, und den bey ihrer Gefangennehmung vorgefallenon begenbeheiten, in einem schreiben eines Reisenden zu E—— an seinen freund in H——."

The account from which most travellers and writers in general appear to collect their ideas on this subject, seems to be a small book entitled, "Mémoires authentiques et intéressans, ou Histoire des Comtes Struensée et Brandt, Edition faite sur le Manuscript, tiré du Port-feuille d'un Grand, Londres, 1789." But as the German description is a mere statement of facts during the Revolution, when Struensee and his party were arrested, and written on the spot, at the time of trial and condemnation, it is evidently more to be relied upon than that of a party writer, who published his work seventeen years after the occurrence took place. There are some interesting circumstances related in the former work, which do not seem to have been noticed by other authors. After reciting the events, now pretty generally known, he proceeds to state, that, amongst the correction of abuses, or reformation, which took place at this period, and wherein the minister Struensee was chiefly instrumental, those that gave most offence to the party in power, were:

The liberty of the press.

The diminution of public tables, which were kept at court for a vast number of attendants, or persons in office.

The power of arresting the nobility for debt.

The dismissal of the foot life guards, who were distributed

amongst other regiments in the garrison, and which afterwards caused a revolt. St. Germain, the commander in chief on this occasion, exclaimed, "Ils se sont conduits comme un corps d'officiers."

The abolition of the rights of postage to many persons in office, to the great detriment of the revenue.

Amongst the useful regulations, was the foundation of a charity school for 100 children, for the support of which every horse used for pleasure was annually taxed two dollars, hackney horses one dollar, and horses belonging to strangers ten dollars each.

The title of Governor of the City, held by Count von Ahlefeld, with a considerable revenue, abolished.

All petitions to the king to be on stamped paper, and written in German.*

Every soldier who married, was to send his children to the Foundling Hospital, who were afterwards to be bound to service to farmers and others till they attained the age of twenty-five years.

Reversionary offices to be limited.

Dispensations from marriages amongst family connections, (save and except the usual ties of blood,) and for which great fees had hitherto been paid, abolished.

Punishment of death for robbery, limited to brand-marks and perpetual slavery.

No distinction to be made in christening natural children

* The alteration of the language from Danish to German was however disapproved.

from those begotten in wedlock; nor were they to suffer any indignity in consequence of their unfortunate birth or situation.

In breaches of the marriage contract, the suffering party might seek redress, but if they did not choose to complain, no notice either publickly or privately to be taken of such breaches.

A regulation for the diminution of the law-suits in the courts of justice.

These reformations, together with the appointment of new officers to the crown, the dismissal of several courtiers and men of rank, the absolute sovereignty with which Struensee reigned in the name of the King, and the total exclusion of the Queen Dowager Juliana and her son Prince Frederick from participating in the existing government, created such a host of enemies, as to render his downfall inevitable.

On the night of the ninth of January, after the memorable ball, when General Koller Banner entered Count Struensee's apartment for the purpose of arresting him, the Count asked him if he knew to whom he was addressing himself? "Yes," replied the general, "it is to the man who was a Count, and Minister of the Cabinet, but is now my prisoner." Struensee desired to see the King's warrant for the arrest; but as the General had only received his instructions verbally, he artfully replied, he would answer with his head for the correctness of those instructions, and recommended Struensee to make haste, as he could not be responsible for his security from the indignation of the people. When the Count surrendered himself, he was conducted to a hackney

coach, which was in waiting, but on stepping in, reprimanded his chamber lacquey for not providing him with his pelisse, and in this irregular manner was conveyed to the Citadel. The hackney coachman received a dollar for his fare, but exclaimed, that he would willingly have taken him there for nothing. On his arrival at the Citadel, Struensee was confined by a chain of three ells only in length, and had a common *friessrock*, or rough coat, without buttons, put upon him, which surprised him much, and he indignantly observed, that he was treated "en canaille." An officer remained with him during the time of his confinement, and only half a dollar was allowed for his daily sustenance. "Il n'y a qu'un pas entre le trône, et le tombeau," was truly exemplified on this occasion.

General Koller Banner then proceeded to the house of Lieutenant General Von Gähler, informing him, as well as his wife, of the King's orders to put them under arrest, and conducted them also to the Citadel.

The Queen endeavoured to make her escape through a secret passage, but on her arrival at the outer door, to her great mortification, found it guarded by her centinels.

Twenty thousand dollars were found in the apartments of Count Brandt; he declared this, however, to be royal property, and appertaining to the theatrical fund, of which he had the chief management.

A number of satirical pamphlets and publications appeared in consequence of this sudden change in the ministry, but there

were none particularly worthy of note excepting one, wherein the following distich, as punning on the name of the unfortunate minister, appeared:

"Sic regi mala multa Struen se perdidit ipse, Jam vinctus claustris, qui modo victor erat."

"That he who intended much evil to the King, eventually was lost or ruined, and that the victor was himself in chains."

The following translation of a letter written in German, and afterwards translated into Danish and French, by one Mr. Helfried, for the express purpose of promulgating Struensee's disgrace, to whom he owed his rise and fortune, was adddressed on this occasion to the King of Denmark, by Mr. Suhm, Conseiller de Conference:

"Religion and virtue had long been trodden under foot, probity and honesty were banished our territories. But thou, O King! wert innocent of these evils. A shameless set of low intriguers got possession of thy person, and the upright were denied admittance to thee; thou only heard and saw with their ears and eyes, whilst thy country was deluged in tears, and fear and despair reigned throughout; the name of Dane had been turned into scorn, and every one blushed to acknowledge the title in foreign parts; the true patriot stood astonished, the sun of the royal house was obscured, and none appeared in open day but the infamous, the despoiler, the deriders of religion, the enemies of truth and whatever was valuable in man. Whilst these occurrences took place, thou wast happy and satisfied, believing that thy subjects were

equally so, and that their prosperity was at its height. Blessed be Juliana! and extolled be the name of Prince Frederick! Thanks to all good patriots, who from pure motives tore the bandage from thy eyes that thou might see clear, who avenged thee and thy kingdom, who risked their lives for thy deliverance, and who restored to thee thy true and genuine power. In truth, it was high time; for I saw the citizen draw his sword against his fellow citizen, and those who were otherwise peaceable, were urged on to murder. Perhaps in a few days thy residence might have fallen a prey to the all-devouring flames, and become a melancholy heap of stones; and Denmark and Norway, that wish for nothing more than the happiness of their kings, might have been reduced to despair. Look now, O King! at the joy that sparkles in the eyes of thy subjects; regard and reflect on their spontaneous gladness.

Let the blood of so many kings which flows in thy veins, warm and instigate thy heart, personally to protect thy people. Thus did Christian IV. and Frederick IV. Blessed names! Let not, however, the flatterer make thee believe thou resemblest them; but rather endeavour to tread in their footsteps. From God and thy people unlimited power has been given thee: thou art therefore answerable to God, how thou useth it. A terrible power! it is that of unbounded sway: the greater the power, the greater the duty. Place bounds to this power, by acknowledging the God who reigns over thee, by studying the good of thy people, in selecting worthy and upright men (and those there are in the land), in misjudging

no one, putting no one down but by the law, and by giving a preference to thy own subjects on all occasions. Let us hear thy ordinances once more in our Mother tongue, thou art a Dane, and I know thou canst speak the language; let then foreign languages be a token of the vilest traitors who were too indolent to learn our tongue, or who would not condescend to acquire a knowledge of it.* Curb the self-willed, and let no one wrongfully suffer, even though it be the worst of men. Direct that those be recalled who have been unjustly dismissed and sent away, and reinstate those in office who are worthy of it. Do not rashly alter things, that the future be not like the past; rake not into old affairs, but let the new be strictly examined. Correct those mildly whom it is possible to treat with clemency; but let those who have dishonoured thee and us, be punished justly, and without mercy. Let not the monument of thy father go to decay. Restrain expensive pleasures. Examine into the national debt, and let the public creditor be paid. Give orders that Norway, the brave and faithful Norway, may again see the coin of the country, and let her heroes never more be driven from thy presence, those brave men who are the surest supporters of thy throne. Forget not the state of the Bank and of public trade, and permit not the latter any longer to be in the hands of monopolists. If it be practicable, cause the oppressive taxes to be abolished which bear hard on thy subjects, at least let them be more generally divided: with pleasure I will take my

^{*} This remark arose from German being the language of the court, and which is the case to the present hour. Struensee's family were Germans.

share of what now falls upon the poor. Thus will Denmark become the land of liberty, of unlimited power, of peace, plenty, and security, beyond even that of England, where, although selfinterested and servile ministers cannot prevent the voice of the people from being heard at the foot of the throne, yet by their influence they prevent its effects, and cause those who are the interpreters of the public grievances, and who stand forward in so upright a cause, to be thrown into prison. Denmark, Norway, and thy German provinces speak to thee, O King! through the organ of my voice: neither hypocrisy, flattery, hope, or fear direct my pen. I have neither servilely, nor often waited on thy only minister. Never have I visited, bowed down, or saluted this scum of the earth; neither have I as a beggar approached thy I am indebted to Providence, and my wife's dower, that I have been placed in a situation which requires not that I should beg for any thing. Hear the truth from my lips, a truth devoid of guile-truth which seldom approaches the throne. Fear God! love thy people! rule thyself! place confidence in thy brother! then shalt thou likewise be called Christian the Great, the Wise, the Good! Our lives, our property, our children, shall be at thy disposal. Our blood shall flow for thee, for Juliana, for Frederik, and for our country. The royal house, the kingdoms of Denmark and Norway, will then remain secure as long as the world shall last. Who thinketh not thus, is not a Dane! is not a Norwegian! And who thinks otherwise, but those suborned by crime? Who does not honour and praise that dangerous, that honourable night,

which broke our chains, which caused us again to become a people? Glorious eventful night! future Homers and Virgils shall sing thy praise. As long as Danish and Norwegian bravery shall live, so long shall the fame of Juliana and Frederik endure, but not increase, for that is impossible. The world shall cease before the honour due to them shall fade away. Almighty Power! that governs Kings, and directs worlds, and the actions of mankind—that scatters and disperses the wicked by the breath of thy voice, give us sense and knowledge to appreciate thy wisdom and power, and obey thy laws! Give strength to our King, that he may cling to thee. Let him understand and feel that thou art his King—He our Father. Let this come to pass! Let this come to pass!"

The tragical end of this revolution, which forms a remarkable epoch in the annals of the Danish history, is well known: I have therefore only cited such passages as do not yet appear to have been particularly noticed by English writers on the subject.

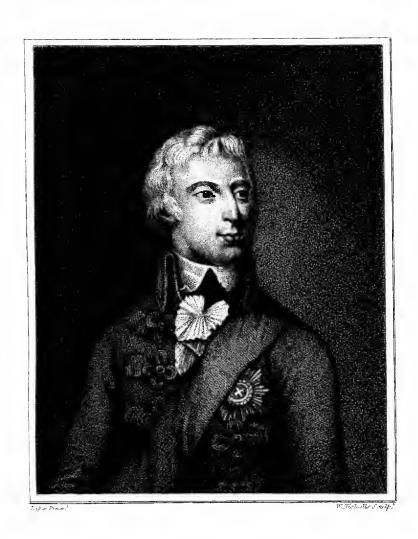
Before the late magnificent and extensive palace (which in building employed 2000 labourers daily for ten years) was consumed by fire in 1794, the *Ridder Sal*, or Knight's Saloon, was reckoned one of the largest apartments in Europe; it was ornamented with a vast number of mirrors, which reflected double lustre on the brilliancy of the court; its length was 118 feet by 58 feet; it was lighted by nine large windows, and at night by three lustres, which contained more than 1200 wax lights; on each side

was a gallery richly gilded, and supported by forty-four columns, the bases and capitals of which were also richly gilded. Abilgaard the artist was commissioned to embellish the hall with twenty-three large paintings, of subjects arising from the Danish history, at a thousand rix dollars each. The library of the King, which suffered much by fire, contained 130,000 volumes and 3000 manuscripts. The Gallery of Pictures, and the Museum of Curiosities, were however fortunately preserved.

The cause of this unlucky occurrence has been attributed to various circumstances; but it is generally believed to have owed its origin to the vast number of flues to the various stoves, which from neglect took fire; or from being overheated, communicated to some adjacent timber in the building; and not being extinguished in time, gained so rapidly as to defy all human exertions. In fact, a building inhabited by somany hundred persons, although it be a royal residence, is subject to a number of accidents, particularly where the subordinate agents in the variety of their departments, probably pay more attention to their sinecures and lucrative posts, than to the duties of their office; the regularity of the grand machine thus becomes disturbed, or falls rapidly to decay, when least expected. Such was the fate of this superb edifice, the remaining standing walls of which, are a sad memento of its past grandeur. Sic transit gloria mundi! The King and Prince Royal afterwards inhabited the two opposite wings of Amalienborg Palace, and considerably reduced their establishments, by curtailing many of the useless appendages of state, and

thus cast off a few of the locusts that fattened on the public revenue.

When Frederik VI. his present Majesty, was Crown Prince, he was accustomed to examine and investigate all the transactions of the different boards of government. The army and the navy occupied much of his attention; public audiences filled up the remainder of his time; so that it may be easily imagined few hours were left for his private concerns, or domestic comforts. The extreme regularity and strict economy of his household establishment, prevented the state from being burthened by unnecessary expenses, or private debts: his unwearied attention to affairs, even of little importance, and his scrutinizing system of examining into subordinate offices, partook however of a certain minuteness of detail to which a great mind should not condescend, as it must thereby be necessarily distracted from affairs of greater moment. A man who suffers himself to be harrassed by petitions on all occasions, or who gives private audiences to every one who wishes to state his grievances, may mean well; but he must eventually be overwhelmed by the multiplicity of assailants from all quarters. It is not every one who has the talents of the great Frederic of Prussia, and can dispense with the advice of his privy council; though despotic power has so many charms, that few like to relinquish its privileges, and it is well for Denmark that its exercise has not of late been abused; the age in which we live is different to that of former periods, when the reigning monarchs ruled with a rod of iron. Frederik VI. it is hoped, will continue to be the father of



Tring of Donmark 2.

his people, and the defender of the just rights of his kingdom; and although his character partakes of much inflexibility, and he views many things with an eye of prejudice and partiality, yet his present political situation will probably in the end cause him to steer a course which may extricate him from the difficulties that surround him; but it is a fearful task, and he has now only the choice of evils.*

* Since the above was written, a considerable change for the worse has taken place in the affairs of Denmark; her dominions have suffered a diminution which is of serious importance to her, in the political scale of Europe. Whatever unjust injuries she might have sustained in the commencement of the contest, it is but too much to be regretted, that, by the demands of a cession of a large portion of her territories to a neighbouring power, she has been compelled to adhere to the weaker side, and has permitted the sense of private wrongs to overcome those sentiments of public feelings, which otherwise would doubtless have long since prompted her to unite in the general confederation of all the powers of Europe against the boundless ambition of a modern Attila.

This system of politics has proved peculiarly unfortunate to many of her own subjects, who have been overwhelmed in the vortex of a most unnatural war with England. A Danish commercial house of the first respectability and of long standing in this country, who bore the brunt of gratuitously advancing considerable sums towards the relief of from two to three thousand Danish prisoners of war during a period of four years, and individually subscribed near a thousand pounds towards their additional comforts when on parole, or under confinement on board the prison ships, at the different depôts; besides rendering many other public services; has not only been deserted by the government to which it naturally looked up, for support and protection, but has seen its property to the amount of £100,000. placed in a state of sequestration since the commencement of hostilities.

The result could not be otherwise than disastrous! With Scipio Africanus, one might be tempted on this occasion to exclaim, "Ingrata patria! neque ossa mea habebis."

CHAPTER VIII.

Royal Introductions—The Prince and Princess Royal—The Hereditary Prince—Duke and Duchess of Augustenborg—The courtly Barometer, an Index of the Human Mind—High Court of Appeals—King's Body Guards.

About a week after my arrival, it was announced to me, through General Adjutant Bulow, Aide de Camp in waiting to the Prince Royal, that I might be presented to his Royal Highness the following evening at his levee. I therefore repaired to the palace in the uniform worn by all foreign Consuls, and after waiting some time in the anti-chamber, I was ushered into the private apartment of the Crown Prince. His Royal Highness received me very graciously, and in the course of a short conversation, noticed a gift of a thousand pounds which my father had recently made to the Military Institution at Christiania in Norway, of which he deigned to express his approbation; and making his bow, as is customary when the audience is finished, I took my departure.

[&]quot;Dio mi guardi da quella Gatta, che dinanzi mi lecca, e dietro mi graffia."

[&]quot;Dieu me garde de ces gens, qui me flattent en ma présence, me trahissent en mon absence."

The following Sunday was appointed for an interview with the Princess Royal; and as her levees were held at an early hour in the afternoon, I was under the necessity of rising from the table of Conference Raad H——, with the view of being punctual in my attendance at the palace of Amalienborg.

As this was a private audience, I had some difficulty in ascertaining the exact situation of her salle d'audience; but entering an apartment where six ladies appeared to be in waiting, I found, upon enquiry, that I had arrived in due time, and was now in the anti-room. I observed the young Princess Caroline in the midst of the circle; she might easily be recognised by the striking resemblance she bears to her father. In a few minutes, I was informed by the Fraulein, Frederica Louisa von Mosting, one of the Ladies of the Bedchamber, that I might enter the saloon, and I immediately found myself in the presence of the Crown Princess. Of all the presentations, from the Imperial Bonaparte, down to a private Secretary of State, this was by far the most agreeable; as the Princess, by her kind condescension, soon banished that reserve which is generally experienced in the presence of royalty. She made many enquiries concerning the object of my journey, and the actual situation of affairs in England, dwelling on other topics with sense and good humour; and when I made my bow she added, "I sincerely wish you a safe return to a country which I have long wished to behold, and trust that the inclemency of the season may not unnecessarily protract your journey." The manner of expressing herself added much to the terms which she condescended to use, and was therefore particularly grateful, as royal personages on such occasions are very brief and sparing of their words. The Italian proverb runs, "Onor di bocca molto vale, e poco costa."

On quitting this amiable Princess, I was presented by Conference Raad Carsten Anker, to the Hereditary Prince Frederik, (the King's brother) and his family, consisting of his son, Prince Christian, and two daughters, as remarkable for their personal accomplishments, as mental endowments. Were I to hazard an opinion, from the partial opportunities I had of meeting Prince Christian in society, I think there is little doubt but that this branch of the royal family will prove a bright ornament to the country which gave him birth: affable and condescending in his manners, he evidently appears to be a favourite with the nation at large; and should he ever succeed to the throne, the bright days of his most illustrious ancestors may again be revived in him.

The next presentation was to the Duke and Duchess of Augustenborg; the latter is the daughter of the unfortunate Matilda, and sister to the Crown Prince; she is a woman of understanding and great merit, a pattern of virtue and conjugal fidelity; and generally esteemed by those whom she honours with her confidence and acquaintance.

The courtly barometer rises and falls in most capitals according to the exact time the person presented, remains in the private cabinet of the Prince; those in waiting, do not fail to watch his looks and motions, as that of a reflecting mirror, when he takes his departure. Should the audience last ten minutes, it becomes an affair worthy of observation; the introduced is supposed either to be rising in favour, un homme d'esprit, or communicating some state secrets: half an hour sets all their wits to work, they become uneasy in their stations, and turn pale with envy. But if the sacred hour for general introduction elapses, and one or two alone are admitted into the cabinet, to the exclusion of the other courtiers, they set no bounds to their malignity, and would willingly crush to atoms the idol they are forced to worship.

At the courts of St. James's and the Thuilleries, the presentations are so numerous, that few persons have an opportunity of being distinguished. During the short interval of peace, I happened to be presented to Bonaparte, then First Consul, on the day that the Hon. Charles James Fox made his public entrée; there were several Englishman introduced by Mr. Merry on the occasion. To no one was any marked attention paid, but the great man in Opposition: it was an interesting moment, and might have been productive of incalculable consequences had he lived to have been a mediator between the rival nations. When Napoleon ranged himself with his officers of state and generals, we all withdrew, nor waited for further marks of his benignity or condescension.

The annual opening of the high court of Appeals, which took place during my stay at Copenhagen, is a ceremony of some importance. I can only compare to it, the reading of the King's

speech in the House of Lords. The King is seated on the throne with the Crown Prince on his right hand; the nobility and courtiers stand on each side; further on are seated the judges and members of the council in their scarlet robes; the advocates and pleaders are stationed at the end of the hall, behind whom the visitors and spectators are placed. Three massy silver lions, as large as life, appear to repose at the foot of the throne. A levee is held in another apartment previous to the opening of the court, on which occasion most persons wear their respective uniforms. The members of the court have dark crimson embroidered coats; and official characters of every description wear a peculiar dress, a custom derived from the French, a plain coat being only worn by men out of office, and civilians. At the breaking up of the court, the King was escorted to the palace by his life-guards, who are chiefly Norwegians, a body of men that had been imprudently dismissed in the time of Struensee, and were then the cause of a serious insurrection; their dignified deportment, height of stature, shewy dress (yellow trimmed with silver,) and helmets with long black hair, produce a very striking effect. When the ceremony was finished, I dined with Chamberlain Blucker, the commander of the body-guard; he had increased considerably in bulk since I knew him in England, and like another Falstaff, served more for · ceremonious shew than use. Count Shack, Count Holck, and Kammerjunker Flindt were of the party; we did not separate till frequent libations had been devoted to the health of the gallant commander and his loyal corps.

ONE of the most conspicuous characters at the Danish Court was Chamberlain Bernt A-r. Nursed in the lap of luxury, and heir to considerable estates in Norway, his mind became inflated at an early period in life with ideas of self-importance. After making the tour of Europe, and culling the flowers of literature as he trod the classic soil of Italy, he returned to his native country a perfect master of the dead and modern languages, and as a man of learning and erudition, was held in high and flattering estimation; his talents were frequently exercised, and his great wealth employed, in acts of beneficence to his fellow citizens. He presented the Military Institution at Christiania with a spacious house, and increased their funds by a donation of five thousand dollars. The needy never sued to him in vain; and as his liberality was unbounded, the inferior classes looked up to him with confidence for protection and support. The general deference that was paid to his opinions by those who partook of his entertainments, or whom he daily fed at his table, might have staggered the strongest mind: a man may in time be persuaded by his flatterers, that he soars above mortality, and deluded by false and empty tokens of respect, or professions of attachment, think himself superior to the rest of mankind. How few like Henry VI. can exclaim,

"Though Fortune's malice overthrow my state.

My mind exceeds the compass of her wheel."

It might be said of Mr. B. A. that, like the illustrious Lorenzo de

Medicis, he was a great merchant, and capable of being a great statesman: he entertained an ambassador with as much ease as he would a factor. He might have been the Mæcenas of Norway, and protector of the arts, as foreigners of every description resorted to his house; but enveloped in speculative plans of accumulating riches, he threw away golden opportunities of really rendering his name for ever dear to posterity.

Dissatisfied with the narrow sphere of action and limited society of Christiania, he exchanged his residence in Norway, during the latter period of his life, for a more brilliant establishment at Copenhagen. The Crown Prince gratified the wishes of this rich and powerful subject, and heaped accumulated honours on his head; he was created a Chamberlain, and decorated with the order of Dannebrog. He proudly wore the glittering star; and, basking in the sunshine of regal favour, "for a ribbon sold himself to the demon of ambition." He imagined his influence at Court to be unbounded; his egotism was unparalleled, and his narration frequently bordering on the most extravagant conceptions of self-importance: a strange composition of intrinsic worth and merit, yet deeply shaded by strong tints of human vanity. By attempting to soar too high, the Chamberlain, like Icarus, "dropt his wings, and was in a sea of troubles lost."

His splendid fêtes at Copenhagen were for a time the focus of attraction to the world of fashion; and, gallant to the last, he invariably lavished incense at the shrine of beauty. In the mixed society of a capital, it may easily be conceived, that more than

one female courted his alliance, and aspired to the honour of his hand: snares were laid to entrap him, and he was at length caught in their trammels. A certain family of penurious and avaricious principles, placed their only daughter; a weak but beautiful girl, continually before him; she was taught to listen with unwearied patience to the Chamberlain's recitals, and even to excite and urge him on, to more protracted details, to win him by her engaging smiles. This plan succeeded; he was in time subdued by the fair flatterer, and declared, "that in surrendering to her charms, he selected her from the crowd of surrounding females, to be the future partner of his fortunes; an honour which, as a widower, he had never intended to confer on any woman breathing."

But, alas! the cup of bliss was not doomed to reach his lips. In the midst of his career, so ill-suited to an advanced age and a shattered constitution, alternately performing the duties of a courtier and a lover, he was attacked by a sudden illness, and a malignant fever raged through all his veins. To him might have been applied the lines:

"Think'st thou the fiery fever will go out
With titles blown from adulation?
Will it give place to flexture and low bending?"

Given over by the faculty, and apprehensive of his speedy dissolution, he was conveyed to the residence of his inamorata, daily growing worse, to the utter disappointment and mortification of those by whom he was surrounded, and whose selfish views prompted them to exclude even the visits of his nearest relatives. Abandoning all hopes of a brilliant settlement, they were now willing to compromise their expectations for a legacy; and it was reported, that a will had actually been made, in which his intended bride was left the heir of all his property. Death, however, proved the falsity of the report, and entirely completed their disappointment; he resigned his breath, and his soul took an unwilling departure to another region, where,

"He must his arts reveal
From the first moment of his vital breath,
To the last hour of unrepenting death."



CHAPTER IX.

A Visit to an interesting Relation—Un petit Souper, and a Game at Cards.

"To banish thought and quiet pain Read Homer's frogs, or my more trifling strain."

I had been somewhat remiss in paying my personal respects to a relation, a rich Danish widow rather advanced in years, who, like the celebrated Madame du Deffand, could not exist alone; she therefore was determined to banish all the horrors of ennui, by frequenting routs, and being "at home," once a week to all the circle of her acquaintance. As dinners, however, somewhat militated against her ideas of economical prudence and frugality, she threw open the folding doors of her drawing room, and received her guests punctually at the hour of eight.

When I paid my first devoirs to this lady, who, according to the usual custom, had adopted the title of her deceased husband, and was now to be addressed as a Frue General Krigs Commissairinde, I found her à la toilette, arranging her tresses, and occasionally

borrowing a tint from the incomparable bloom of Ninon de l'Enclos; after a few reproaches for my neglect in not having paid her an earlier visit, I was informed that as she received tout le monde that evening, of course I was expected to form one of the party, and she particularly recommended me to be punctual, that her arrangements might be made accordingly.

My worthy relation was, (for, alas! she is now no more,) in the sixty-fifth year of her age, calculated from an old Danish register found at her decease, but which during her life-time she had carefully concealed. In person she somewhat resembled Dame Leonarda, the companion of Gil Blas whilst confined in the robbers cavern: her back was rather warped; her waist, from the report of her corset-maker (transmitted in a gentle side whisper) measured three feet three inches in the small part; lower down inclining to the unwieldy, and bordering more or less upon five feet, Danish measure, in circumference. The contour of her face, on which age and wrinkles had made sad havoc, might bear a comparison with the figures reflected through a magic lanthorn on a wall, that are at will contracted or expanded; and when she opened her mouth, displayed the remnants of a set of teeth, which formerly might possibly have been as white as driven snow, but now, by hard usage and laborious toil, were of a dusky hue, and

"Like angel's visits, short and far between."

The exact degree or tie of relationship which united me by blood collaterally to this quintessence of fashion, I cannot exactly determine, not having the genealogical tree at hand; suffice it to say, our ancestors sprang from the same stock; her father was considered one of the richest misers in Norway, having in the lapse of time accumulated a large fortune, which at his death he bequeathed to his only daughter, who consequently became an object of importance in society, and for whose fair hand many a needy fortune-hunter sued in vain.

At length a Commissary at War prostrated himself at her feet; he was, it is true, somewhat less hideous than herself, but as submissive as a spaniel, and as docile as a boy who dreads the master's rod. Like Queen Christina, who thought "Parnassus preferable to a throne," the lady sighed not for the delights of conjugal love, she held such pastime in contempt, and far beneath her notice; she panted solely for rank, a brilliant establishment, a carriage, and the power of controuling her husband, un franc nigaud; she therefore allowed the Commissary to assume this nominal title, to sit at her table, and governed him with unlimited sway for the ensuing twenty long and tedious years.

Instead however of obtaining the harvest, which he so anxiously awaited as the reward of all his sufferings and frequent humiliation, "he nought reaped but a weedy crop of care:" death stept in, and left his widow a prize for the next adventurer who might feel disposed to enter the garden of the Hesperides, and pluck the golden fruit.

Previously to my arrival, the Frue Krigs Commissairinde had thrown off her unbecoming weeds, assumed the rich brocade, and selected Sunday as her night of entertainment, on which she generally received le beau monde. On my entrance, I discovered several card tables methodically arranged, and the parties busily engaged in their important avocations. A bird organ, placed on a pier table, harmoniously amused the company during the evening.

My antiquated relation on presenting me a card, enquired if her "cher cousin" played boston? a negative somewhat surprised her. "Do you play l'ombre? a second No, and a double disappointment. "Quadrille?" I hesitated. "Do you play cards at all?" she peevishly asked: this I perceived was the touchstone on which all future favour depended; for there being one table unoccupied, three persons must have been thrown on her Ladyship's hands, had I refused to accede to her wishes; so that from common politeness, I answered "Yes," and to oblige her, would try my hand at whist. This settled the point, the Frue Krigs Commissairinde gave me a gracious smile, introduced me to the trio, and her tables were then complete. The trial of skill commenced. At the expiration of three vigorously contested rubbers, some solitaire tables decked with supper apparatus, were placed close to the card parties; a custom, the good lady of the house had adopted to prevent unnecessary delay, or the discontinuance of the game; but as the love of lucre, or the gratification of the appetite, might at times be equally balanced, the servants were directed at a certain hour, to place a dish in the centre of each card table, which unlike the golden apple on which the goddess of Discord inscribed " Detur pulchriori," and threw among the goddesses, had the

effect of uniting the several gamblers, by the savoury steam which ascended from the rich repast: down therefore dropt the cards from the hands of all the players, and stews and hachées were predominant for the moment. After a short interval, the game was resumed. A trick was won and lost, a bet was taken or refused, when slices of poitrine de mouton en chèvreuil were introduced. Some ate, some played, and some, whose tender stomachs rejected more food, sat looking on in anxious expectation. Confused in my ideas, I forgot the lead and suddenly revoked; my partner (a titled dame, resplendent in artificial charms) frowned, and was opening her mouth to check me for my want of thought, which portended ruin to her hopes; when, presenting her some delicious stewed sour-krout, I appeased the brooding storm; she relented, and we again resumed the game. A trump was led-four plates of fish were placed upon the trick—carp took precedence, and all became confusion!—Jellies, blanc mangé, des œufs en chemise, omelette au pommes, stewed prunes and pears, succeeded now so rapidly, with liqueurs and wines in such profusion, that had Hoyle himself been present, he must inevitably have lost all power of recollection; more particularly as the Danish game of whist contains five honors, and the points of each game are made over to the next; a ruinous system to all unskilful players! Thus, with shuffling, chalking, picking up the cards and napkins, handing dishes right and left, and drinking toasts and healths with friends and foes at different tables, my ideas were so completely harrassed and deranged, that when I rose (and this could not be easily

effected) a demand of fifty dollars was made upon my purse, as the price of my evening's entertainment: to dispute the numerous points with a wary antagonist, who produced her tablet scored with figures, was useless and impossible; I discharged the debt, quitted my partner, who bit her lips in anger and vexation, and making a profound reverence to the lady of the house, retired, with a full determination never again to run the gauntlet with queens of diamonds, knaves of clubs, poitrine de mouton, sour and angry looks, or any of the sauces piquantes to which I had unwittingly been introduced; and leaving the wranglers, I sought repose in the arms of Morpheus.



CHAPTER X.

A Ball—Ida of Gottenborg — Danish Ladies' Pin-money. —
Milliners — Promenade on the Ramparts — House-rent —
Dronningaard — Riches preferred to the Fine Arts — Commercial Pursuits detrimental to their Encouragement.

"L'ame n'a point de secret que la conduite ne revèle."

The following day I received an invitation to dine with Baron Selby, and in the evening, to use a French phrase, assisted at a ball given by the Conseiller d'Etat B——, in honour of his eldest daughter, being that day of age. His lady, on this occasion, received her company reclining on a Grecian couch; and as I approached to pay my respects, she whispered something in a low tone of voice, which I did not exactly either hear or comprehend, but to avoid giving her the trouble of further explanation, I nodded assent, and assured her I felt particularly happy in having the honour of becoming personally acquainted with her. Perceiving I ceased to speak, she enquired in a sotto voce, if I had lately seen or heard of Mr. ——; the name unfortunately was not pronounced sufficiently distinct for me to understand to whom

she alluded, but as she was an invalid, and trifling questions often irritate the mind, I again replied, that I believed he was in Italy or France, but possibly might soon return; to prolong the conversation, I extolled the beauty and good qualities of her daughters, and requested her permission to dance with the eldest. As silence gave consent, I retired, and walking up the room, was met by the Baroness d'Oxenstierna, an English lady married to the Swedish envoy, who had witnessed my interview with Madame B—, and who jokingly observed, that I must have been highly edified by the learned lady's replies; but as to my observations they must decidedly have been thrown away in consequence of her unfortunate deafness.

The Conseiller d'Etat appeared on this gala night rather more contented with himself than usual; equipped in boots and spurs, his ordinary dress, he gently glided past his guests, keeping at an awful distance from his wife, lest some sudden thought should cross his brain, and check his short lived joy: whilst his accomplished daughters, frequently quitting their partners during the dance, formed an interesting group around their mother's couch, saluting her forehead, or dropping on their knees in playful attitudes, seemingly to thank her for all that they possessed in talent or in outward form, and willing to offer her some compensation for the very apparent neglect of their father:—with Dr. Johnson, they possibly might have agreed, in his aphorism, "that the longer we live, and the more we think, the higher value we learn to put on the friendship and tenderness of parents and of friends.

Parents we can have but once, and he promises himself too much, who enters life with the expectation of finding many friends."

At this ball I was introduced as a partner to a lovely Swedish girl, known generally by the appellation of Ida of Gottenburg. To describe accurately the beauty and regularity of her features, and the loveliness of her form, would be a vain attempt: a soft voluptuous eye beaming with tender sensibility, the rosy hue of health imprinted on her cheek, teeth of pearl, ruby lips, fair complexion, and a tout ensemble that may be classed as le beau ideal of female perfection, is but an imperfect description of this angelic being. I did not then know the gentleness of disposition, the guileless heart, the sensibility of soul that animated every thought and action, those prepossessing qualities, so truly captivating in woman; and yet to doubt that she possessed them was to be blind to the hand of nature, which had stamped her countenance with its most fascinating impression. A shade of pensive sadness occasionally seemed to pass like a thought of sorrow over her brow; but her smile was not the less sweet, her blush not the less warm; an habitual bashfulness, arising from timidity, evidently mingled its reserve with the graces of an elegant nature; her voice at once tender, soft, and eloquent, expressed the innocent purity of her The interest that she excited, was too powerful to be resisted: to be in her presence without feeling the ascendancy of her superior attractions was impossible—it left an impression on the mind not easily to be eradicated.

It was rumoured that a foreigner of distinguished merit had

some claims on the affections of Ida, but that having formed a previous matrimonial engagement with another woman (from whom he had however long been separated) he nourished a flame with but little chance of success; as in his country a divorce was a work of time and difficulty. Many were the admirers of the fair and interesting Ida, who strove to gain her hand; but as she had resolved her heart should accompany the precious gift, the attempt was vain; and he who dared to hazard the expression of his feelings, retired in confusion but to lament his failure.

When I reflected on the situation and mental sufferings of the person, whose merit and private worth might have justified his pretensions to the hand of Ida, I could not help indulging in a strain of reflection on the miseries which man may entail upon himself by legislative regulations, in which the innocent and guilty alike are sufferers.

Why doom beings to be eternally united together, who, alas! too late discover the fatal choice they have made; when time, instead of curing wounds proceeding from mental injuries, festers them daily more and more by endless reproaches? Would it not be politic and wise, under certain restrictions, and after mature investigation, to separate hearts which were never made to associate together? Each might then find another more congenial in its sentiments; as nothing can be more cruel to enforce by law an union, which at first might have its origin in mutual love, but is afterwards continued in mutual hatred. But who shall dictate to the legislators of their country? In one, polygamy and divorces

are allowed! in another, the slightest deviation from the chain of matrimony, even in thought, is deemed a heinous crime. How contradictory is the principle of man; but is not man a mass of contradiction? Ida—the beloved object of an unfortunate attachment, was an instance of an oppressive law, allowing of no mitigation, which rendered four individuals miserable for life; who, if united according to their better judgment and inclinations, and agreeable to the dictates of nature, might have become inestimable members of society, and patterns of conjugal fidelity.*

SEVERAL clubs are established in Copenhagen, to which the most respectable families resort, and where balls and concerts are occasionally given by the subscribers; the most distinguished is the Harmonic Club; but as the society cannot always be rendered perfectly select, a ridiculous *mélange* is at times the consequence. I have observed Madame Schall, a public dancer at the theatre, figuring away with a Baron of the Holy Empire;

^{*} The ground upon which divorces "a vinculo matrimonii" in England are obtained, must be either impotency, affinity, pre-contract, or consanguinity, which is a total nullity of the marriage, and the parties are free to marry again without any Act of Parliament. But in case of adultery, cruelty, or any cause that happens subsequent to the marriage, the divorce is only "a mensa et thoro," (from bed and board); and the parties cannot re-marry during each others' lives without an Act of Parliament. In Denmark, divorces are granted upon mutual application by both parties to the King; and on proof of having lived separate "a mensa et thora" for the space of three years.

and myself unknowingly danced with a young damsel whose appearance was au dernier mode, but whose father, I afterwards learned, issued tickets for subscription masquerades, and catered for the public supper every Sunday night.

Strong contrasts frequently exist in the female classes, where outward shew and inward worth are not always on a par. It is not unusual to meet a lady at a ball, glittering with jewels and in borrowed plumes, who the ensuing morning may be traced into her kitchen, superintending the culinary preparations for the family, or busily employed in getting up a dress for the following night.

Where pin-money does not form one of the prominent stipulations in the marriage settlement, extravagance must be limited within narrow bounds; shops have not half the custom that they have in England, nor milliners the practice that they find in other countries; where the ephemeral fashions of the day, the idle folly of the rich, and the sickly cravings of a pampered appetite, tend to render them insolent and boundless in their demands for the mere variation of shape in their articles of flimsy gauze and tiffany. Thus, the Danish milliner is not limited to the decoration of the female form alone, she has a shop replete with various articles, and unites the separate trades of haberdasher, glover, and perfumer in one general boutique.

As in all cities the inhabitants wish to breathe a purer air than they inhale within their own narrow sphere, it is usual about noon, "the breathing time of day," (as Hamlet says), to resort to the ramparts for this purpose. Here the prince and plebeian the nobleman and citizen, the tradesman and military intermix, and lounge their hour away. Should enquiry be made at a shop about this hour for the master or the mistress of it, "De er paa Volden." (they are on the ramparts), would be the immediate reply. The snuffing up the noon-tide air is to them of more importance than their customers; nor do they heed the trifling profits that might arise by patient waiting at the counter.*

A Danish nobleman appears in public in an evening with his star and ribbon, or in a brilliant uniform; in the morning he receives visits in his petit negligé, consisting of a dressing gown, his collar open, en pentouffle, or en papillote, not unlikely in his bed-room under the hands of his friseur, who continues his operation undisturbed, and equally powders with his wide extended puff, the visitor and visited.

^{*} As to the general neatness and cleanliness which exists in England, it is unrivalled; we may range far and wide before we discover that minute and perpetual attention which prevails in this respect, both in regard to the interior of the houses, and the dress of individuals, whether they be the inhabitants of a palace or a cottage. "Comme elle est bien chaussée," is the constant remark of a foreigner, when he regards the feet of a walking female; and if our beaux are ridiculed for their invaluable receipts for highly polished boots, our belles at least claim the palm of excellence in the white robed innocence of their appearance.

Notwithstanding many houses have been rebuilt since the dreadful conflagration of the city, yet the rents continue exorbitantly high, and a family frequently occupies one story alone, consisting of a suite of apartments. This is equally the custom at Paris, and at first creates some confusion to a stranger enquiring for a person who has apartments in these kind of little commonwealths; I have been informed, "Que Monsieur n'a que tourner à droite ou à gauche, la première porte à deux battans au troisième étage, vis-à-vis l'escolier derobé." Or if I mistook in the multiplicity of doors, I had but to descend from le tier étage, and "Parler au portier," for more correct information. One inconvenience in particular attends this assemblage of families; they all suspect each other; and the constant locking of doors becomes a necessary and invariable practice.

After gaining admittance, and paying my morning visit, I have, on quitting the apartment, instantly heard the key turned round: once I was locked in, and had to repair to the lady of the story, (for house would be an inapplicable term) for permission to make my exit, unless she wished to retain me a prisoner for the remainder of the day.

M. DE CONINCE is esteemed one of the richest capitalists in Copenhagen; his seat at Dronningaard, twelve miles distant from the city, is worthy of notice. Nature seems to have taken pleasure in contributing, by the beauty of the surrounding scenery and

fertility of the soil, to reward the industrious toils of this excellent man, who may be classed amongst the Patriarchs of old; he is frequently surrounded by his numerous descendants, "to the second and third generation," who, to the number of from forty to fifty, generally sit down with him at the same table.

Dronningaard is situated on a peninsula, commanding an extensive prospect, and belted with rich woods; the house has been judiciously placed on an eminence, and at its base, a fine sheet of water gives rise to many aquatic sports, of which M. de Coninck, as a Dutchman, is particularly fond: a fleet of boats is moored here for the occasional amusement of the various branches of his family. This spot, though decorated by a profusion of temples and hermitages, is not conspicuous for its taste; it is the residence of a rich man, and nature has done the rest.

The Fine Arts are in fact but little promoted or patronised by men of opulence or birth; there requires a spirit of emulation which is here subdued by commerce. Nothing is more fatal to art or science than to remove that spur, as extraordinary genius soars above rivalship. Men of taste alone attach themselves to the arts, which multiply their enjoyments, and improve their benevolence; constant application in pursuit of gain, confines the mind, and excludes patronage in the upper, and thought and invention in the lower classes. Few persons form collections worthy of notice, or think of researches into antiquity: the Graces or the Muses are, like valuable gems, buried in the earth, and but rarely discovered; The successful speculator, whose boundless fortune might encou-

rage genius, and bring merit forward by its fostering hand, to public notice, who should ornament his house with the works of art, or the display of talent, dreams alone of sordid lucre; the feelings of his heart are blunted; his mind is cramped with arithmetical calculations, and "thoughtful of gain, he all the livelong day consumes in meditation deep."

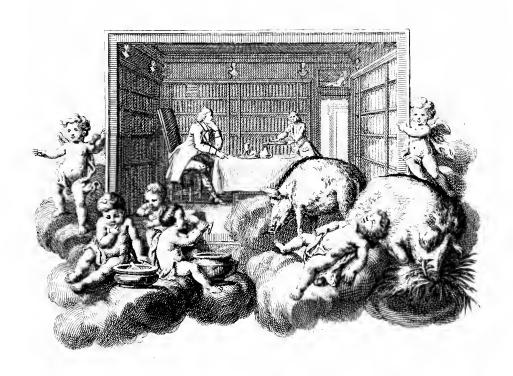
Literature feels the benumbing effect of this want of patronage in the opulent; to them, the streams from Helicon are unknown. There are men in every country, who will pursue the severest researches with all the ardour of passion; and these men, from the very ardour with which they devote themselves to such pursuits, neglect the things of this world. The want therefore of national or individual encouragement, is like the unwholesome mildew, which by its acrimony corrodes, gnaws, and spoils the plant that otherwise would shoot up and flourish in luxuriant profusion. Thus writers sink into neglect, when their midnight toils are unrewarded, or fail to meet the eye of a discerning world, which alone can rescue them from oblivion:

"The Muse desponding, strikes her lyre in vain, She finds no ear at leisure for the strain; Art's toiling sons their slighted stores unfold, Each eye is vacant and each heart is cold."

PERSIUS.

On the contrary, in every country where literature and the fine arts have met with due encouragement, they have acted as

a counterpoise to the greatest defects. It covered the sanguinary proscriptions of Octavius; elevated the House of Medici above the rank of the greatest Kings; apologized for the evils which Louis XIV. by his religious persecutions caused to Europe; and is even a trait in the character of the sanguinary Napoleon, which will not pass unnoticed by future historians.



CHAPTER XI.

An Icelandic Friend—Traits of the English Character exemplified in travelling Companions—Amours, Disputes, and a Duel prevented.—Courts of Arbitration, or Forligelse Commission.

To the learned Professor Thorkelin, from Iceland, I was indebted for many hours of social intercourse. Our intimacy had commenced in England, where his merits had been duly appreciated by the *literati*; the renewal of our former acquaintance was now an object of peculiar interest. He was my *cicerone*, and accompanied me in many of my visits, or in search of objects of interest and curiosity. When I could spare time from my numerous engagements, we ransacked the city in all directions; sometimes rummaging for old books, or documents and manuscripts of antiquity, in his office as keeper of the public records; at others, examining Icelandic curiosities, from the number of which, he kindly presented me with an ancient drinking horn of curious workmanship: then gaining

[&]quot;Amicus certus in re incerta cernitur." Ennius.

[&]quot;A sure friend is tried in doubtful matters."

admittance into the cabinets of the few, who had formed collections of pictures, minerals, and other curiosities, relieving the anxiety of research by occasional promenades "paa Volden," and making excursions into the country. With such a friend, who was learned without pedantry, ever anxious to render services, kind, hospitable, and attentive to all my wishes, how could I be otherwise than gratified at the repeated proofs of his good will? Mutual esteem is the basis on which true friendship is established; and the intercourse of friendship ought surely to be connected in such a manner, that this foundation be not injured. Clashing interests we had none; my friends were his, and to my enemies (for where is the man without?) he would willingly have shewn no mercy; similarity of taste and sentiment might likewise have cemented the bond that united us; and I have now but to regret that space and time has separated me from this worthy man.

It is on such occasions, when the limited time of a traveller requires the instruction and assistance of a man of general information, that kind offices are truly valuable, and that we find consolation in the bosom of friendship which shares our joys and griefs, and participates in every thing that can contribute to our welfare and prosperity.

Whilst thus engaged, my ci-devant travelling companions, who ledged at the same hotel, were occupied in forming parties of pleasure with the few English who were then at Copenhagen. If we chanced to meet, I had a detailed account of their boisterous amusements or adventures, and which, in the course of a short

time, obliged them to quit Copenhagen, without effecting the chief object of their journey.

The West Indian, smitten by the charms of a young lady, whom he had met at a private party, hastily made her an offer, which was as speedily rejected; but prosecuting his views of conquest, he encountered a young Baron in the Danish guards, her suitor, and who one morning paid him an early visit for the purpose of calling him to an account for his intrusive behaviour, at the same time very candidly informing him, that he was willing to submit their distinct claims to the lady herself. "If," he added, "she should give you the preference, a circumstance I am, from the knowledge of her character, not apt to believe, I will instantly resign my pretensions to her hand; but should she on the contrary decide against you, beware, if you are not an adept swordsman; for I am allowed by my regiment to handle the sabre with greater skill than any of my brother officers." This was an intimation not suited to the ideas of the amorous youth; the charms of beauty vanished in proportion as the pending danger was magnified by the powers of imagination; and like an uncourteous knight, he relinquished the appeal to both the lady and the trial of arms, for which he felt himself so unequally prepared.

His companion was rather more addicted to the orgies of Bacchus than the rites of Venus, and thus in a short time was involved in a labyrinth, from which I had some difficulty to extricate him; but being actuated by motives of humanity, I persevered, and ultimately succeeded.

Having dined with some of his friends at an English coffeehouse, where they made pretty free with the bottle, a toast was proposed by him as chairman, to which a young Danish officer objected, unless the meaning of it was interpreted to him, at the same time acceding to the established custom of previously drinking a bumper, to entitle himself to the explanation. was refused by Mr. P. who rudely threw the contents of his glass into the Captain's face, adding that "this was the only explanation he should give to a military puppy." Of course, high words ensued, the party broke up, and retiring to the hotel, were coming rapidly to conclusive arguments, when I entered my apartments, and hearing a considerable bustle in the adjoining room, went in, and soon discovered the cause of the commotion. To interfere whilst the passions were at the height would have been to little purpose, I therefore quietly awaited till they had retired to their respective apartments, after having come to a determination to meet the following morning at an early hour beyond the city gates.

Having some regard for Capt. H. a young man of amiable manners and good family, I resolved if possible to prevent the meeting, and procure him an atonement for the gross insult he had sustained. With this view I rose early, and calling upon Mr. P. gave him my opinion upon the subject, adding that as he was decidedly the aggressor, he might, in case he survived the intended duel, prepare himself, according to the Danish law, to be incarcerated for life in the Round Tower, as a verdict of wilful murder would infallibly be given against him; that an

apology of a public nature was due to Capt. H. and unless he made up his mind to submit to it, I most heartily wished he might suffer for his obstinacy and want of good breeding. I then repaired to the Captain, and found him busily engaged with his second in loading his pistols, which not having hair-triggers, I offered to accommodate him with a pair; but at the same time hinted, if he was not disinclined to listen to the intervention of a mediator, I still thought they might be rendered unnecessary. He felt obliged for the double offer, and replied, his character was in the hands of his friends, and he would abide by their decision. I then returned to Mr. P. who seemed brooding over the alternative I had represented to him; the fumes of wine being dissipated and his courage evidently cooled, he began to attend to the voice of reason. A meeting in my apartment was therefore proposed, and acceded to by both parties; when, after a little discussion, and assuring Capt. H. that the laws of honour would not be violated, and the stain of the affront might be washed out, with a reparation short of blood, it was finally determined, that the party, who had dined together the preceding day, should again assemble at noon, and the amende honorable then be made in as public a manner, as the insult had been given. This was accordingly carried into effect; Mr. P. humbled himself, Capt. H. was satisfied, and the hostile parties separated, never to meet again; as Mr. P. and his companion the West Indian, having by this time involved themselves in various difficulties, took their departure, and I heard no more of them.

Duels rarely occur in Denmark; but on such occasions, private quarrels are terminated by an appeal to the sabre, and are seldom attended with a fatal issue, as in general the first cut decides the difference; it being sufficient to draw blood, to do away the stigma of the supposed insult.

The lower classes in Norway imitate their superiors in Denmark in this respect; when they meet at weddings or other feasts, they are usually provided with the *Tolle-kniv*, or pocket knife, which is carried in a small sheath; if their disputes run high, they attack each other, upon honour, by fixing their thumbs firmly on a given part of the blade, and cut and slash in all directions: blood once drawn, they return to their cups, and a reconciliation takes place. This rule is seldom infringed, except in deadly feuds, when the Tolle-kniv is wholly bared, and used without discretion, in which case it ends fatally to one of the parties. It is still a custom at Bergen in Norway, for the farmers, when they meet at a feast, to bring their winding sheets with them; as a quarrel is frequently the result of these rencontres, and they therefore come fully prepared for the event.

The Danish government has wisely established a Forligelse Commission, or inferior court of arbitration, with the view of diminishing the number of law suits for civil actions or trifling disputes. M. Christian Colbiornsen originally projected this humane system of terminating unnecessary litigation, which is now generally adopted throughout the Danish dominions; at its institution

It was strongly supported by Counts Bernstorff and Reventlow. Four or five of the principal inhabitants (who are not lawyers) elect two persons to whom all references are made: if the appellants are satisfied with their decision, an expensive suit is avoided. This is a wise regulation, and ought to be adopted in all countries; in such case it would invariably tend to diminish the number of suits, which now clog and harrass the courts of law.*

* One would almost be inclined, from the adoption of this salutary system, to think the Danish projector of this measure had perused Hugh Trevor, wherein law is logically defined to be a great evil; probably some of my foreign friends, who are unacquainted with Holcroft's opinions on this subject, may enter into the spirit of the following discussion:

DIALOGUE.

- "The law I understand is your present pursuit: Do you suppose it possible to practise the law in any form, and be honest?"
- "Sir!—Mr. Turl!—you amaze me! Where is the dishonesty of pleading for the oppressed?"
- "How little have you considered the subject—How ignorant are you of the practice of the law.—Oppressed! Do Counsel ever ask who is the oppressed? Do they refuse a brief because the justice of the case is doubtful? Do they not always enquire, not what is justice, but what is law? Do they not triumph most, and acquire most fame, when they can gain a cause in the very teeth of the law they profess to support and revere? Who is the greatest lawyer? Not he who can most enlighten, but he who can most perplex and confound the understanding of his hearers! He who can best brow-beat and confuse witnesses, and embroil and mislead the intellect of judge and jury. Yet the mischiefs I have mentioned are but the sprouts and branches of this tree of evil, its root is much deeper, it is in the law itself, and in the system of property of which the law is the support."
 - " Pshaw! these are the distempered dreams of reform run mad."
- "Are they? Consider! Beware of the mischief of deciding rashly! beware of your passions, that are alarmed, lest they should be disappointed."
 - "It is you that decide.—Prove this rooted evil of law."
 - "Suppose me unable to prove it; are its consequences the less real? But I

will endeavour. He who is told that "to do justice is to conduce with all his power to the well being of the whole," has a simple intelligible rule for his conduct. He, on the contrary, who is told that "to do justice is to obey the law," has to enquire, not what is justice, but what is law? Now to know the law (were it practicable) would be not only to know the statutes at large by rote, but all the precedents, and all the legal discussions and obligations to which the practitioners of law appeal! Innumerable volumes, filled with innumerable subtleties and incoherencies, and written in a barbarous and unintelligible jargon, must be studied! Memory is utterly inadequate to the task, and reason revolts, spurns at, and turns from it with loathing.

- "A short statement of facts will, in my opinion, demonstrate, that law in its origin and essence is absolutely unjust.
- "To make a law, is to make a rule by which a certain class of future events shall be judged.
 - "Future events can only be partially and imperfectly foreseen-
 - "Consequently the law must be partial and imperfect.
 - "Let us take the facts in another point of view:---
 - "The law never varies.
 - "The cases never agree.
 - "The law is general.
 - "The case is individual.
 - "The penalty of the law is uniform.
 - "The justice, or injustice of the case is continually different.
- "To prejudge any case, that is, to give a decided opinion on it while any of the circumstances remain unknown is unjust, even to a proverb.
 - "Yet this is precisely what is done by making a law."
 - "This is strange doctrine, Mr. Turl."
- "Disprove the facts, Mr. Trevor; they are indisputable, and on them the following syllogism may indisputably be formed:
- "To make a law is publicly to countenance and promote injustice—publicly to promote and countenance injustice is a most odious and pernicious action. Consequently to make a law is a most odious and pernicious action.
- "How unlimited are the moral mischiefs that result! To make positive laws is to turn the mind from the enquiry into what is just, and compel it to inquire what is law.
- "To make positive laws, is to habituate and reconcile the mind to injustice, by stamping injustice with public approbation.
 - "To make positive laws is to deaden the mind to that constant and lively sense

of what is just and unjust, to which it must otherwise be invariably awake, by not only encouraging, but by obliging it to have recourse to rules founded in falsehood.

- "Each case is law to itself; that is each case ought to be decided by the justice or the injustice arising out of the circumstances of that individual case, and by no other case or law whatever, for the reason I have already given; that there never were, nor ever can be, two cases that were not different from each other.
- "I therefore once more warn you, Mr. Trevor, that law is a pernicious mass of errors, and that the practitioners of it can only thrive by the mischiefs which they themselves produce, the falsehoods they propagate, and the miseries they inflict."
- "This would be dangerous doctrine to the preacher, were it heard in West-minster Hall."
- "I am sorry for it! I am sorry that man can be in danger from his fellow men, because he endeavours to do them good."



CHAPTER XII.

Character and Political Career of Count Bernstorff, late Prime Minister of Denmark.

"Nicht, kann einem Sterblichen gluckseligeres begegnen, als wenn er in guten Tagen einer von den beglückten Menschen, und in bösen, einer von den grössten Männern ist."

No greater blessing can befal a human being, than in good times to be a fortunate man, in bad, a great man.

RESUMING our extracts from the page of history, let the veil of oblivion be thrown over characters who have sullied and disgraced its annals, while we gratify ourselves with the contemplation of one of its brightest ornaments.

Count Andreas Petrus Bernstorff was born at Hanover on the 28th of August, 1735. From his earliest youth his character was mild, benignant, kind, and endearing to all around him. His natural flow of spirits was misunderstood by his tutor Munther, under whose care his father had placed him, with the view of imbibing the first rudiments of education: he was checked and corrected by the severity of a man, whose scholastic ideas being chiefly confined to theoretical knowledge, knew but little of the human heart.

Emancipated from the rod of this instructor, he appears in his fifteenth year to have been placed under the tuition of Leischnig, a man of considerable talent and experience: with him, he entered deeply into the study of history, theology, and the living and dead languages. In 1752, he went with his brother to Leipzig, where he became acquainted with the poet Gellert, whose friendship was a source of infinite use and gratification to him. He now prosecuted his travels into foreign countries, led on by an insatiable thirst for knowledge, and a wish to become personally intimate with characters eminent for their abilities, or rank in life. At Dresden and Gottingen he made some considerable stay: at Geneva he acquired a perfect knowledge of the French language, which was of infinite service to him in his diplomatic career. He then went to Italy, where he commenced an intimacy with M. de Chauvelin, and the Duc de Choiseuil, the French ministers at Turin and Rome, as likewise with the Abbé Barthelemy, the renowned writer of the travels of Anacharsis; with the latter, and a celebrated artist, he studied the antiquities, and the fine arts. During this journey, he fulfilled the earnest wishes of his uncle, (the great Bernstorff, who afterwards retired from the ministry during the reign of Struensee) and determined to enter into the Danish service. In 1756 he quitted Italy and returned through Trieste, Vienna, and Dresden, to Hanover. After staying a short time under the parental roof, and being in vain solicited to fix his residence there, he went to Paris, where he remained six months: thence he crossed over to England, and was intimate with Admirals Hawke, Anson, and others; here he followed the pursuits of agriculture, a study for which at all times he had a strong propensity, remaining some time in Norfolk: after this he returned through Holland to Hanover

Bernstorff's first debut in affairs of state, was an appointment in the German Chancery, where his uncle presided, who seemed determined to encourage him in the attainment of some degree of eminence in the line of politics and diplomacy. When the old Count Bernstorff was minister to Frederick V. he had an opportunity of furthering the object of his wishes; and during several successive years, his nephew's advancement was rapid and In I766 Frederick V. died, and a cabal was formed for the purpose of ruining the credit of the minister in the eyes of his successor Christian VII. which however had the reverse effect: the Count not only refuted the charges brought against him, but had the order of Dannebrog conferred on him, together with the gift of an estate near Copenhagen. At that time the farmers were in a state of bondage, and subject to the feudal laws, which rendered them totally indifferent to the cultivation of lands; the owner and peasant equally suffered under these unwise and barbarous regulations. Count Bernstorff was foremost to abolish this system of slavery. As a philanthropist he could not behold with indifference the wretchedness of these poor people, in a country which nature seemed to have formed for the comfort and opulence of its inhabitants. He wished to be considered the benefactor of a free and wealthy race, rather than the lord of slaves. Believing their misery to arise from having been oppressed by hard labour, he resolved to abolish their system of partnership in inclosures, and to place them in such a situation that they might expect to reap the fruits of their individual industry. To effect this, he parcelled out the lands in suitable lots, and prevailed on his tenantry to throw dice for the choice, encouraging them by presents, to move their residence to the ground which fell to their share.

Count Bernstorff expended, from his private purse, in settling and giving permanency to this arrangement, seven thousand dollars; but the sum was well applied, and he found himself amply repaid by the hilarity which soon accompanied the labours of these poor families, whose welfare he had taken so much pains to ensure.

The grateful peasants, some years afterwards, erected a plain marble monument, by the side of the high road, in honour of the Count.

In 1770, the old Count Bernstorff, who was then minister of state, received his dismission, in consequence of the increasing influence of Struensee who could not brook a rival in power, and had persuaded Matilda to apply for it. The King, indifferent to every thing but his pleasures, easily yielded, and both the Bernstorffs quitted Denmark, to the great regret of all good and wise men.

On the 18th of February, 1772, the old Count died at Altona; and when his nephew, Count Andreas, (after the ruin of Struensee

and his party), visited Copenhagen in the following summer, he was earnestly solicited to accept a situation in the government, and was shortly afterwards appointed to the post of minister for the Foreign department, which his uncle had filled with so much credit to himself, and benefit to the nation.

He was chiefly instrumental in effecting the exchange of the counties of Oldenburg and Delmenhorst for part of the duchy of Holstein, which had long been a bone of contention between Russia and Denmark. A treaty to this effect was concluded, on the 21st of May, 1773; and this matter, which was of great importance to Denmark, was thus set at rest.

On the breaking out of the American war, Bernstorff adopted and brought to perfection a wise system of neutrality, which was of essential consequence to a nation, not able to contend with the great maritime powers.

On the 28th of February, 1780, during hostilities between England, and France and her allies; Denmark, Russia, and Sweden, formed a coalition in defence of their neutrality, which was respected at that period, and enabled the three powers to carry on their usual trade without much interruption. This Northern coalition was however neither forgotten nor forgiven by Great Britain, and was one of the primary causes of her subsequent hostilities with Denmark.

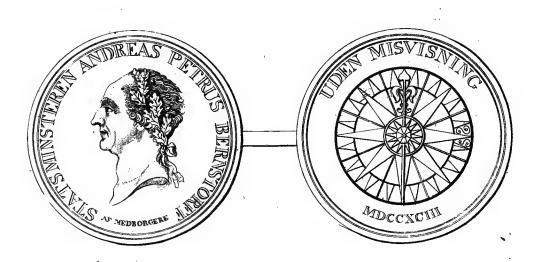
To particularise the benefits that ensued to Denmark during the ministry of Count Bernstorff, would be endless: esteemed and honoured both abroad and at home, his situation was most enviable; it was such as could not fail to attract the attention of aspiring courtiers, whose merits were completely thrown in the shade, by a comparison with his personal good qualities and public virtues. A party was secretly formed, with the view of displacing him from the pre-eminent situation he held. To create disgust, and induce him to resign, every practicable obstacle was thrown in his way and opposition raised, to thwart his plans for the public benefit. As long, however, as he could be of service to the country, he continued in office, and disregarded the shafts of envy that were leyelled at him by his opponents. At length, perceiving that he could not stem the current of opposition, he resigned his situation as Minister, on the 30th of November, 1780; and like Cincinnatus, retired to the plough, and his estate, without a murmur, but with the most fervent wishes for the future prosperity of the country. To his friend Munther he said eight years afterwards, "if they dismiss me ten times, and recall me as often, I will return, if the country can be benefited by my abilities."

Rare words! the test of the intrinsic worth of a minister, of which there are few instances.

When the Prince Royal assumed the reins of government in 1784, Count Bernstorff was reinstated in his high office, to the great joy of the nation. In 1786 a general emancipation of the peasantry took place in Denmark, of which he had set the example on his own estate. During the following year a variety of internal regulations and improvements occurred in the financial system. In 1789, when war was declared between Sweden and

Russia; and Denmark was called upon to fulfil the article of a treaty which stipulated, that in case Russia was attacked, Denmark should send an auxiliary force to her assistance; Count Bernstorff attended the Prince, who made an irruption with 12,000 men from Norway into the Swedish territories; and Gottenburg would inevitably have fallen, had not the English and Prussian ministers interposed, and obtained a cessation of hostilities, which eventually ended in a treaty of peace.

At the commencement and during the early part of the French Revolution, when England declared war against France, the situation of Denmark was truly critical. Here again the genius of this truly great man prevented the country from being crushed between the mighty powers; and although a new code of maritime laws established in the English admiralty court, and the laws of nations were disregarded by the contending powers, yet the system of neutrality, so beneficial to the Danish nation, was not departed from, in its consequences was productive of great mercantile advantage to the country. As a token of the general satisfaction, a gold medal, of which the annexed engraving is a fac-simile, was presented to Count Bernstorff, on the Prince Royal's birth-day, the 28th of January, 1795.



The following letter, describing the circumstance, was wrote by a gentleman of Copenhagen, at that period:

"The interest you take in the political affairs of the North of Europe, induces me to inform you of what has transpired here respecting our very deserving Minister of State, Count Bernstorff, whose private character, moral principles, and benignity of manners, are as well known as the prudence, steadiness, and honour of his conduct in public life.

"It is to him we are indebted for our present tranquillity. He was the principal cause of Denmark not joining in the present detrimental and destructive war, the fatal consequences of which make humanity bleed and blush throughout Europe.

"Though partly deprived of the benefits due to an independent nation in her lawful trade, we yet enjoy the comforts of peace, in hopes of ultimately obtaining entire satisfaction for the injuries that trade has received from the belligerent powers.

"Acknowledging most devoutly the blessings of Heaven, we at the same time acknowledge how much we are indebted to the Man, whose arduous task it became to unmask perfidious insinuations, and to reject haughty proposals of ruinous participation. No species of war is just but that in defence of our lives, rights, and liberty—ruin and shame inevitably attend the offender. Such ought to be the maxims of every moral statesman; and a minister destitute of morality is a curse upon the people.

"Count Bernstorff is a blessing to us. Convinced of this, numbers of citizens have joined in proving their satisfaction and gratitude by sending him a gold medal, representing a striking likeness of himself, with this inscription:

" Bernstorff, Minister of State in Denmark."

"On the reverse side is a compass inscribed,

" Without Alteration."

"I need not explain the sense of this bold idea; it is as explicit and true as the frailties of mortals allow.

"The medal with the following letter, was delivered by an unknown person.

"" To the man of his King and Country, the most noble Bernstorff, who proved to Europe that true state wisdom consists in justice and peace, and, supported by strenuous perseverance, is the greatest honour in all governments.—To him, discerning Fellow-Citizens hereby convey the inclosed proof of their gratitude.

"'The faithful subjects of these realms, in presenting the most worthy citizen with their thanks, which he deserves, preferred this memorable day, because it reminds every friend of their country of that benefit which has been effected in these latter years, for the prosperity of the State and the cause of humanity.

"From Danes and Norwegians devoted to their King and Country.

The 28th January, 1795.'

"The subscribers, preferring a noble deed to the emptiness of public shew, remain as yet unknown.

"You must observe, that the 28th of January is our worthy Prince Royal's birth-day, whose application to his extensive and important duties is perhaps unparalleled, and whose firmness and constant attachment to justice and honour entitle him to every distinction and encouragement. His Royal Highness, in supporting so able a minister in whatever is just, and he on the other side being a faithful friend to the Prince, the choice of the day was noble and applicable."

This testimony of the public regard was highly grateful to him. The following year another medal was struck on his own birth-day, and presented to him: this was the last year of his eventful life. In May 1797, his mental and corporeal powers were exhausted, and after a short illness, during which he was attended by Callisen and Hensler, his personal friends, and the most eminent of the faculty, and daily visited by the Prince Royal, he expired to the great regret and sorrow of the whole

nation. His funeral was honoured by the attendance of the Prince and royal family, and followed by persons of the first consequence in Copenhagen. The last words of Bishop Balle, in his funeral oration were, "Happy Bernstorff! Peace to thy ashes!—a blessing to thy family; revered be thy memory!" How glorious is the death of such a man! what an example to posterity! how much more gratifying to the feelings of his surviving children is the daily sight of the simple pedestal erected by his grateful tenants, during his life-time, in commemoration of a single act of beneficence, which alone immortalised the name of Bernstorff, than the superb mausoleum that decorates the ashes of Juliana Maria at Roskild, a gloomy depository of unrelenting jealousy and ambition, and which the beholder regards with apathy and indifference.

"A cordial his sustains, that cannot fail:
By pleasure unsubdued, unbroke by pain,
He shares in that omnipotence he trusts:
All-bearing, all-attempting, till he falls,
And, when he falls, writes vici on his shield:
From magnanimity, all fear above:
From nobler recompence, above applause."

CHAPTER XIII.

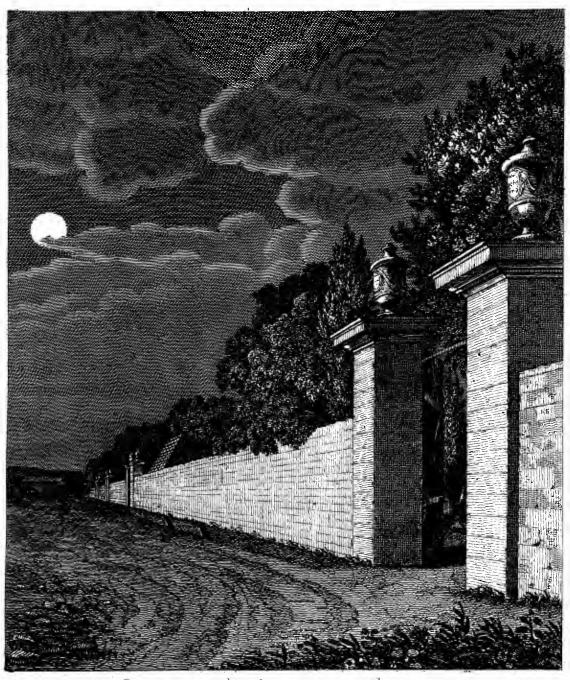
The Cemetery, or Garden of the Dead.

With Ancus and with Numa, Kings of Rome, ... We must descend into the silent tomb.

"There is a calm for those who weep,
A rest for weary pilgrims found,
They softly lie, and sweetly sleep
Low in the ground.
The storm that wrecks the winter sky.
No more disturbs their deep repose
Than summer evening's latest sigh,
That shuts the rose."

MONTGOMERY.

About a mile from the city of Copenhagen, is a large extent of territory, surrounded by a brick wall, exclusively dedicated to the burial of the dead; the entrance is through iron gates, the key of which is kept by a person residing near the spot. The Danish government wisely prohibiting the interment of deceased persons in the vaults of churches, (a detriment and annoyance to the living, militating equally against the principles of religion and the dictates of reason, has encouraged the wealthy citizens to transport their relations to this "Garden of the Dead." Rows



Entrance to the Comotory at Copienhagen.

of lime trees divide the cemetery, and marble monuments have rose above the crosses of wood which originally were the humble memorials of the poor. Unlimited sums are now expended in decorating this interesting spot; the best sculptures are employed in executing cenotaphs or monuments, sarcophagi or mausoleums, to the honour or memory of the departed; considerable taste, and even ingenuity, is displayed in the simple or costly tombs, and engravings are published of the designs of artists. If, as Addison observes, epitaphs and inscriptions are a criterion of public taste, some of these may be truly said to breathe a classical spirit. Those whose finances will not allow them to expend any considerable sums in decorating the grave of their deceased friend or relation, pay an annual stipend to the persons whose occupation it is to guard this sacred territory, to lay fresh turf, to plant the transient flower, or crop the growing box, which contains the initials of their names.

The laurel, the cypress, the cedar, the willow, and the ewetree, are interspersed amongst the tombs, and exhibit on all sides
a long and melancholy symbol of sorrow, their deep verdure and
graceful forms, bending to every breeze, add considerably to the
beauty of the place. It has become a *sombre*, picturesque, and quiet
promenade—a sacred stillness prevails throughout. It is the resting
place of mortality, where the mind soars above sublunary concerns, where the lover strews the grave of his departed mistress
with roses, and the maid plants her favourite flower, the *Vergiss*mein nicht, (Forget me not) at the foot of her lover's grave. A

friend may here, in re-perusing the description of the merits of a lost companion, think of past social hours; the husband, in beholding the symbol of a chain snapt in two on the tomb of a beloved wife, may be reminded of the uncertainty of human bliss, and that the tender chord which united him to the object of his best affections is for ever broken.—

"Each moment has its sickle, emulous
Of Time's enormous scythe, whose ample sweep
Strikes empires from the root, each moment plays
His little weapon in the narrower sphere
Of sweet domestic comfort, and cuts down
The fairest bloom of sublunary bliss."

YOUNG.

Beneath a lofty lime tree, stands a small stone, on which is engraved this short inscription:

O. I. SAMSOE,
"He wrote Dyveke, and died."

The reader will recollect the history of the mistress of Christian the Second, which has been made the foundation of a tragedy in five acts, written by the above poet, who has immortalised himself by the composition of this interesting performance. To commemorate the merits of the deceased, Mr. Falsen has written the following epitaph:

Mournful, dejected, His friends crowd around the corpse of

SAMSOE!

and ask

Who was more gentle in manners?

More kind in soul?

More honest of heart?

More pure in life?

The Melpomene of Dania,

Advancing with the veil of sorrow in her hand, Spreads it over her favorite,

And places her dagger on

His bier.

SAMSOE,

Thy extinguished eye doth not behold

The tears which thy countrymen shed

Over thy memory,

Nor mourning parents,

Who encircle thy grave,

And embrace thy pupils whom thou

Didst lead to virtue, exclaiming:

"Peace to the ashes of our benefactor!"

While the Danish fair strew

Thy grave with flowers,

And sigh,

"Softly rest the author of Dyveke."



In the edition of the posthumous works of Samsoe, Mr. Rahbek, formerly Professor of Belles Lettres at the University of Copenhagen, concludes his biography thus:

"On the 30th of January, the day after his interment, Dyveke was brought out at the Theatre, and obtained a degree of approbation, which not only justified, but even surpassed what rumour had previously said to his advantage. Successive representations

have strengthened, and there can be no doubt will confirm its merits. On the third night, the receipts of the house were for the benefit of the author's heirs. On this occasion, the manager, at the suggestion of a poet, gratified the public feelings by a solemn ceremony at the conclusion of the piece.

"On an urn, at the extremity of the stage, was written "Samsoe." Melpomene leaning over it, uttered, in a plaintive voice—"He is no more." To which the Genius of Time replied, "His memory lives."—The awful stillness of the scene was here interrupted by a spectator, who rapturously exclaimed—"The memory of Samsoe will live for ever!" The sound, like electricity, "spread throughout the house, and an enthusiastic repetition was universal and reiterated."

In the centre of a wreath, carved on a plain monument of Norwegian marble, is inscribed "Riber," author of the celebrated tragedy of Niels Ebbeson.

Further on, is another monument, erected in memory of the celebrated actress, Madame Preisler; it consists of a square pillar of yellow marble, on a plinth of red stone; a portrait of the deceased, in white marble, is seen on one side the pillar, on the upper part of which is placed an urn of grey marble, with the representation of a faded rose, and this short inscription:

" For tidligt for os."

(Too soon for us she died.)



I often paid a visit to this interesting spot, and always found something that particularly attracted my attention. The last visit afforded a contrast, which will never be erased from my memory. I had been the preceding evening at a masquerade, from which I retired late; the dazzling scene of folly and disguise had so completely taken possession of my senses, that after ineffectual attempts to gain repose, I rose from a thorny pillow, more wearied by restlessness, than refreshed by transient slumbers, and

traversing the silent streets, I repaired to the deserted ramparts. The atmosphere was clear, it was one of the finest mornings I had witnessed for a long time: the sun was rising, and as the light shed its tints upon the distant objects, gradually illumined the surrounding scene. The plain before me, overspread with streaks of light, was contrasted in the strongest manner with the thick shades of the distant woods. The spires of the churches seemed tipped with gold, and the undulating ocean reflected back the beams of the bright luminary. "It was a golden period for the poet's fancy, or the painter's art." With a well known author, I reflected that "the meteor, pleasurable folly, glides swiftly past—but how brilliant is its momentary splendor! it lights up the scenes of life, and illumines the horizon with magic beauty; yet far more changeable, far more transient is that effect; than even the moon-beam that casts its unassuming ray on the evening prospect-emblem of the closing day of man, when the sun of joyous exhilaration is set, and faintly reflects its light on the mellowed orb that tinges the retiring landscape with a melancholy uncertain gleam." It was a moment calculated for meditation. Never did I feel my own existence, or that of the being which animates all nature, more fully than at the instant in which the first ray of the morn gilded the tops of the distant hills. I continued for some time in mute admiration, till I was awakened from my reverie by the distant sound of the morning gun, which at once dispelled the illusion, by breaking the charm which held my fettered senses in a trance. I descended from the ramparts, and strolled toward the sea-shore:

here I remained above an hour. On returning, I drew near the spot where I had taken many a lonely walk; at a distance there appeared a funeral procession, which gradually advanced towards the dormitory of the dead.

"But see! the well-plum'd hearse comes nodding on, Stately and slow; and properly attended By the whole sable tribe, that painful watch The sick man's door, and live upon the dead, By letting out their persons by the hour To mimic sorrow, when the heart's not sad! How rich the trappings, now they're all unfurl'd, And glittering in the sun! Triumphant entries Of conquerors and coronation pomps In glory scarce exceed. Great gluts of people Retard th' unweildy show; whilst from the casements And houses'-tops, ranks behind ranks, close wedg'd, Hang bellying o'er.—But tell us, why this waste? Why this ado in earthing up a carcase That's fall'n into disgrace, and in the nostril Smells horrible? Ye undertakers! tell us, 'Midst all the gorgeous figures you exhibit, Why is the principal conceal'd for which You make this mighty stir? 'Tis wisely done! What would offend the eye in a good picture, The painter casts discreetly into shades."

BLAKE. / R

As they drew near, I enquired for whom the funereal rites were about to be performed? An attendant said it was the Countess de Yoldi, late wife of the Spanish ambassador. After the burial service, the bier was uncovered, and the loose earth sprinkled over a splendid coffin that was deposited in the grave. I recollected having seen this young and beautiful woman at a fête not many days before, when she was surrounded by the giddy throng.

"Belinda smil'd, and all the world was gay."

she was then blooming in health, vivacity, and spirits, adored by her husband, and envied by her sex. Now, her disconsolate friends were about to take their last farewell, exclaiming, "Lay her i' the earth, and from her fair and unpolluted flesh may violets spring!"

After the solemn ceremony the mourners returned in slow procession to the city. I alone remained at the foot of her grave. A tear fell from my eye, when I reflected on the instability of earthly felicity! It was but a few hours, that I had quitted a scene of folly and dissipation, where many an interesting female had borne a part, who; like her, anticipated not the shaft of death; or, that they might soon be doomed to an untimely grave, forgotten by all, excepting those to whom memory endeared the recollection.

When I visited this spot before, I little thought of the melancholy fate that awaited the unfortunate Countess, or that she was shortly to fall a victim to her ill-timed vanity, in having mixed too early in the giddy circle of pleasure, after a recent confinement; or that the next time I purposed taking this gloomy walk, she would be added to the number of the silent inhabitants of this cemetery.—

"Turn, hopeless thought! turn from her; thought repell'd Resenting rallies, and wakes every woe:

Snatch'd ere thy prime! and in thy bridal hour!

And when kind fortune, with thy lover smil'd!

And when blind man pronounced thy bliss complete!

And on a foreign shore where strangers wept!"

E'en so it was! and when I now see a funeral pass, I think with melancholy recollection of the young, the interesting Spanish Countess, whose spirit is with the blessed!—

"'Tis but a night, a long and moonless night;
We make the grave our bed—and then are gone."

CHAPTER XIV.

Excursion on the Road to Elsinore—Anecdotes of a French Lady of Quality—A Christening—the Dress of a Danish Nurse—the Antiquarian.

"Un 'tien' vaut mieux que deux 'tu l'auras."

A SOUTHERLY wind in the month of March had gradually abated the rigour of winter, the approach of spring was daily becoming more evident, and with Thomson one might have exclaimed,

"Come gentle Spring! ethereal mildness! come,
And from the bosom of you dropping cloud
Upon our plains descend."

One fine day, when the bright rays of the sun tempted me to make an excursion along the sea-shore, I dispatched a billet to my friend the Professor, and requested him to accompany me on a ramble along the road that leads to Elsinore. Several of the principal inhabitants of Copenhagen have here their country seats, within short distances of each other. A commanding view of the Sound, distant prospect of the coast of Scania, a woody country, and excellent roads, are strong inducements to the natives to court

a retreat from the noise and bustle of an over-thronged capital, and inhale refreshing breezes from the sea. There is, however, at best but a tameness in such scenery, when contrasted with the bold and picturesque views in Norway, where the rude grandeur and unfettered sublimity of wild rocks, lofty mountains, and rapid torrents, burst upon the sight of the astonished traveller with a charm difficult to be described. Yet placid as was my present prospect, I greeted it with fervor; it was an hour of tranquillity, after continued feasts and scenes of dissipation; no longer in the tainted atmosphere of a court, where hypocrisy and art subdued the finer feelings of the soul, and the unmeaning smile and cringing bow, but ill disguised the ruffled mind, I felt that truth and friendship were within my reach, and that if not on others, I could at least depend on him who was now my companion. In more than one instance I have experienced the fallacy of the warmest professions of friendship and personal esteem; the foundation in general is as brittle as the superstructure. Interest is the leading feature, and that once ceasing, the hideous deformity of base ingratitude becomes apparent.

Such characteristic traits are but too common; gratitude is a plant of slow growth; and yet without confidence, what is society? It is the link in the great chain that unites us together. Nothing, however, resembles the variety and inconstancy in life, so much as the waves of a stormy sea, agitated by continual conflicts, and mutually destroying and destroyed by each other; the flowing and ebbing of the tide is a symbol of the actions of man in the

hour of sunshine and prosperity, every thing advances towards him with rapid motion. If fortune, however, turns her back, the world recedes with quicker pace than the uncertain wave. Alas! every thing in life is destined to an eternal change, and has its period, as wave follows wave, from their native source to the devouring main. The green foliage that adds such beauty to the face of nature, ere long strews the earth with withered leaves; and even time, that in its progress, like a rapid stream, still bears away from us what we most loved and prized, only presses onward to be lost in eternity. Such were my reflections, after a long ramble, as we re-entered the city gates; my friend to return to the circle of domestic happiness and social affections—I to mix with the giddy throng, which at that hour of thought and abstraction had lost its wonted powers of attraction.

At a crowded party in the evening, I recognized my former acquaintance the Countess D—. This lady boasts a lineal descent from the blood royal of France, and by marriage became related to that of Denmark. All the proud blood of the "Montagues and Capulets" flowed in her veins; she was now domesticated in Copenhagen. At the commencement of the revolution in France, she quitted her native country with a flight of noble emigrées, and sought refuge and support in the land of liberty. It was then that I was honoured with her visits, she condescended to borrow my money, and gave me fair promises in exchange; when her credit and my patience were exhausted, she determined to memorialize the Court of Denmark; she stated her claims of

affinity and extreme distress, and at last obtained an asylum and a pension for life. At her departure, she promised that she would take the earliest opportunity of returning the substantial benefits she had received; and with a thousand assurances of gratitude and protestations of regard, embarked on board the vessel that was to convey her to a friendly shore.

She verified the adage " Un tien vaut mieux que deux tu l'auras," for had I not chanced to meet her at Copenhagen, I most certainly should never have been favoured with any account of her further proceedings. I now learnt that she was as celebrated an Intriguante as any at court; that she had contrived to get her eldest daughter married to a near relation of a certain Count, and suffered the Minister to have no peace until she had obtained a promise for the advancement of her son. Unfortunately for her ambitious views, this young man marred his own prospects at the very commencement of his career, by an act of extreme impru-The Prince Royal had given him a commission in the guards, and sent him as a courier with diplomatic dispatches to the court of Petersburg; he had, however, scarcely entered the Swedish territories, when he lost the packet with which he had been entrusted, and returned without fulfilling the object of his mission: this was an unpardonable offence, for which he was afterwards disgraced.

As I had witnessed the interment of the dead, and had partaken of a marriage feast, it now only remained for me to be present at

a christening: being invited to one by Mr. S——, who having recently added a son and heir to his family, he persuaded me and a gentleman from the East Indies to be sponsors on the occasion. To this invitation we yielded, and went through our respective duties with due decorum. How far these duties, however, have been fulfilled by our absence, the young Lutheran must hereafter explain; but like other nominal godfathers, we filled up a chasm, and more was not expected.

The dress of a Danish nurse is very splendid on these occasions, consisting of a scarlet jacket and petticoat, trimmed with a broad gold lace and broad black border; the close lace cap fringed with gold, was so peculiarly becoming, that I dispatched my man Ole the following day to make a purchase of it. Happening to shew it to a lady of fashion on my return to England, she was so fascinated with the novelty of its appearance, that she without hesitation wore it the following evening at the Opera.

After drinking copious libations to the health of the young herrchen, I accompanied my friend Mr. A—, in the evening to a more splendid scene at the palace, where there was an assemblage of the first nobility.

The King played cards at a round table, but in such a disturbed manner, that it was a melancholy sight to behold the mock dignity of royalty, and the forced respect that was paid to him. But he is no more! and we will not dwell on the wretched frailties of human nature.

In search of antiquities, I went with the Professor on the following day to pay a visit to a man of virtu, and collector of curiosities. His hall and staircase were ornamented with helmets, cuirasses, pikes, and swords, worn by the ancient heroes of the North; his anti-room exhibited specimens of natural history in all its various branches; his own apartment, where, like Merlin he sat, enveloped in a bed-gown and a red velvet night-cap, was decorated with a heterogeneous collection of rare antiquities, collected from all quarters of the globe. One might with Romeo have said, that he possessed:

Of ill shap'd fishes, and about his shelves A beggarly account of empty boxes, and musty seeds, and Remnants of packthread, and old cakes of roses, when the world will be the world be the

and the state of the state of the

The strong broken as a set 21 Millia and an

In this apartment he ate, drank, and slept: the dust of time and the rust of antiquity were visible throughout; the web of the spider obscured the rays of the sun, and moths undisturbed, made slow but certain havoc in the leather bindings of many attattered book.

A Titian Venus decorated one side of his couch, over which was suspended a gloomy curtain: the pleasures of imagination

were a substitute for those of reality, of which, frail mortal! he no longer could partake.

He had formed a singular collection of keys of every description; from that of St. Peter's, down to the most diminutive Venetian padlock. Keys which had been buried in the ruins of Herculaneum, or suspended from the girdle of a Spanish duenna, to whose strict charge and Argus eye the wavering virtue of an uncertain wife had been entrusted by a jealous husband. Unequal task!—for where the mind is wandering in pursuit of pleasure, neither bolts, keys, nor locks, can stem the impetuous tide of passion.

I attempted in vain to persuade this eccentric virtuoso to part with any of his treasures, an inlaid matchlock, and one or two articles of inferior value excepted; he was deaf to my entreaties. On enquiring whether he possessed an antique drinking cup, his countenance brightened, and he replied, that a silver tankard, which originally had belonged to the celebrated Gustavus Vasa, had the preceding day been offered him for sale, and that he was then in treaty for it, but that the possessor, a ruined Swedish nobleman, prized it as the last remnant of his plate, and was unwilling to part with it for less than its real value. I whispered my friend to enquire where it might be seen, and having ascertained this point, we took our leave, and repaired to the spot, glad to obtain so valuable a relic, at any rate. I paid the sum required, and bore the prize away. This richly embossed tankard has since become the ornament of my side-board; and, like the

cups of the Valkyriæ, has been filled with sparkling ale or wine, and touched the lips of many a beauteous maid and gallant warrior, who have drank deep of "the sparkling mead." A use more in character, than to decorate the shelf of the antiquarian, in whose profane hands it would soon have sunk into neglect and oblivion.





CHAPTER XV.

Love—Marriage—Plighted Faith—Conjugal Happiness, and Infidelity—A domestic Tyrant.—Justice and Truth never failing Proofs of an upright Mind—exemplified in different Instances—Anecdote of an envious Count and a Gold Medal.

Atque in præterita se totus imagine versat."

Petron. Arbiter.

The mind still wishes for what it has missed, And loves itself in the retrospective contemplation.

It has been remarked that the custom in Denmark, of young people betrothing themselves to each other, and exchanging rings in token of mutual regard and attachment, until a favourable opportunity occurs of their being united, is attended with some risk and danger. To this it may be replied, that a mutual promise, founded on real affection, and cemented by long acquaintance, is more likely to ensure happiness than hasty marriages, especially as in that country, a promise is held of so serious a nature, that if either party violate their engagements they are

invariably stigmatised by public censure, and held, unworthy of trust on future occasions.

If a freedom of intercourse should be the result of such mutual attachment, the families of the parties rest assured that where the intentions are honourable, the consequences must be held sacred, and the engagements at all events fulfilled.

I knew an officer in the Danish navy, considered by many as one of the handsomest men at Copenhagen, who betrothed himself to a young lady of great talent and merit, but not possessing any personal beauty; the engagement took place as he was about to be sent for improvement in his profession to different parts of Europe.

Wherever he went, he received the most flattering marks of attention; his society was courted, and some strong partialities, especially in England, caused him somewhat to repent of having so early pledged his faith in Denmark.

I saw his resolution staggered, particularly in one instance, where he might have succeeded with beauty, fortune, and mental endowments; and indeed the lady in question was half inclined to have accompanied him on his return to his native country: but the sacred promise, and the hand that awaited his arrival, crossed his views; the struggle was long and violent, in proportion to the superior excellence proffered him; his heart was yielding to the tempting offer, when recollecting the disgrace that would attend his breach of promise, he summoned sufficient resolution to quit the endearing tie that seemed likely to enchain him in a foreign

land, and abruptly took his departure. On his arrival in Denmark he sent me a laconic letter, evidently written in the moment of despair, wherein he said,

" I am arrived at Copenhagen—and married."

In his first attachment however he acquired a good, though not a handsome wife; and in time, the wounds that love had made were closed. His only error was in having entered into engagements before he had a sufficient knowledge of his own heart to justify the early choice; and this, whether such custom prevails or not, is the source of half the unhappy marriages throughout the world:

"Wedlock's an ill men eagerly embrace."

A man falls in love at first sight, he is blinded by passion, and before he has time to examine into the merit, temper, or mental qualities of the woman he intends to be the partner of his future days, he unites himself to her; and after the phrenzy of love and possession subsides, he discovers real faults, where he alone saw imaginary perfections. A ruffled and uneven temper, that demon of discord! unfolds itself; the veil of hypocrisy is dropt, and the real character, devoid of artifice, is exposed in its natural colours; instead of an angel, he finds, alas! too late, that he is united to a wrangler, or an artful hypocrite.

(Whoever expects happiness from any thing but virtue, wisdom) good humour, and a similitude of manners and disposition, will find himself woefully mistaken. How common it is for man, when he enters upon the thoughts of marriage, to place his hopes

of having in the woman he selects, a constant agreeable companion; one who will divide his cares and double his joys; who will manage what he entrusts to her conduct with prudence and frugality, govern his house with economy and discretion, and be an ornament to himself and family; who places her chief happiness in the practice of virtue, and makes her duty her continual pleasure. And women !—how few place their happiness in having a wise and virtuous friend, who will be faithful and just to all, and constant and loving to them. Both sexes deceive themselves, and bring disgrace on the most honourable state of life. It would be far wiser to become gradually acquainted, to study each other's real character and peculiarities, nor madly rush into a state which admits of no alternative, for the frozen region of indifference that lies between the two extremes, is worse than death itself! It is then that virtue begins to waver, and in the moment of delirium, their plighted faith and reciprocal duties yield to other claims.

Such are the matches originating in ambition—pride—high birth—great connections—the love of riches, or the controul of parents: where the good qualities of the heart and mind are secondary considerations, and a return of affection, (which banishes from their roof the corroding worm of jealousy), is made subservient to other views of momentary importance, and thus becomes the source of endless misery; for as Shakspeare wisely thought,

"Marriage is a matter of more worth
Than to be dealt in by attorneyship.
For what is wedlock forced, but a hell;
An age of discord, and continual strife?
Whereas the contrary bringeth forth bliss,
And is a pattern of celestial peace."

Love makes no distinctions, it levels all ranks, and brings us to that equality which the law of nature has so wisely established; it is the mind alone, which feels its superiority, and will maintain it in spite of every charm. Had the widow of Scarron not possessed this mental treasure, she would never have had sufficient influence over Louis XIV. to have become his wife.

Madame de Stael remarks, "C'est dans le marriage que la sensibilité est un devoir, dans tout autre relation, la virtu peut suffire, mais dans celle où les destinés sont entrelacées, où la même impulsion sert pour ainsi dire, aux battemens de deux cœurs; il semble qu'une affection profonde est presque un lieu nécessaire. Quel est le cœur qui peut se donner tout entier sans vouloir un autre cœur aussi tout entier? Qui donc accepte de bonne foi l'amité pour prix de l'amour? Qui promet sincèrement la constance à qui ne veut pas être fidèle?"

To exemplify instances of unhappy marriages would be a tedious, an endless task: as a proof of domestic tyranny I need, however, only cite an instance of a foreign nobleman, a man of proud and haughty manners and inflexible character, never yield-

years been allied to an amiable woman, whose charms had faded with her youth, and no longer possessing the power of attraction, she became an obstacle to the future hopes and wishes of this petrifying diplomatist. Had he treated his mild and gentle wife with the respect that was her due, the world would not have witnessed scenes which disgraced his name and public character; but his irascible temper could neither brook delay nor opposition.

Had the Count lived in feudal times, when unlimited power was usurped and the existing laws trampled upon with impunity, he might easily have released himself from the shackles of matrimony; but as in modern days, the criminality of the wife can alone destroy the obligations of a legal contract, an unsurmountable barrier presented itself to his prospects and thwarted all his hopes: he had recourse therefore to other measures. His house, situated on the banks of the Thames, became her prison; had it been on the lake of Constance, it would have been an impregnable castle, and her abode a dungeon: from this place of misery, she at length effected her escape, and sought refuge for a time with her foreign relations. Worn down by the ill-treatment of her husband, she did not long survive her sufferings; she yielded up her breath with a pure conscience, and the sympathetic pity of surrounding friends.

Upon the death of his wife, the Count visited his estates abroad, and passing through Denmark on his return to England, he made proposals of marriage to the daughter of a German nobleman, who lived retired from the world, and was probably glad to avail herself of what she deemed so brilliant an opportunity of making her début into it. She ventured therefore on the great stage of life, with a man who in point of age might have been her grand-father. But too soon, alas! she perceived, that the Count was indeed her husband, and was resolved to exercise all the privileges of his station; she therefore seldom appeared in public; selfish motives had dictated his choice, and he cared but little to gratify the object of it; jealous to an extreme, the Count dreaded the approach of others, lest comparisons might be made prejudicial to himself. His submissive wife, educated in the strict principles of domestic virtue, yielded to necessity, there was no alternative! yet it was evident she groaned under the matrimonial chain; it was her lot to feel the despotism of love, not of hate; and both his wives had reason to dread the extremes of either. It is well the dart of death succeeds the arrow drawn from Cupid's bow; in time it released the youthful Countess from the thraldom she endured, and left her unrestrained and free to make a better choice.

FIDELITY and truth are the foundation of justice, which should invariably accompany our public and private actions: the fulfilment of a promise is of so sacred a nature, that no one should hesitate to undergo the greatest inconvenience, or make any sacrifice, rather than fail in its execution. The man who forfeits his word, or deviates from truth, inflicts a punishment on himself; for

conscience erects her tribunal in his mind, and condemns him without mercy. Whoever is a rigid observer of his word, must be just; if it be necessary to bind a man by oaths and bonds to fulfil an affirmation or engagement, it is a proof we place no reliance on his word; we therefore hedge ourselves round by securities to guard against deceit, and our intercourse with the world too frequently proves the necessity of such precautions.

Amongst the several virtues of Aristides, that for which he was most renowned was justice; because this virtue is of most general use, its benefits extending to a greater number of persons, as it is the foundation, and in a manner the soul, of every public office and employment. Hence Aristides, though in low circumstances and of mean extraction, obtained the glorious surname of the Just: how truly he deserved this title appears from the whole tenor of his conduct, and his various actions throughout life. Cato is another bright example in this respect, for he was inexorable in whatever related to public justice, and inflexibly rigid in the execution of his orders; so that the Roman government had never before appeared to that people either so awful or so amiable. The characters of the Spartans and Athenians are ably described by the strait and crooked line, for truth never deviates from its track whilst falsehood assumes a thousand shapes, and only gets deeper into the labyrinth, as she leaves truth in the back ground. lower classes of mankind put utility in the balance against honesty every day, and never fail to incline the beam, in favour of the former, if the supposed advantage is thought to be considerable: they have no regard to justice, but as they reckon to gain by it, or at least not to lose, and are always ready to desert it when it exposes them to any danger, or threatens them with any loss. From this disposition of mind proceeds that avidity of wealth, and that habitual fraud which perpetually embroil civil society; from this fatal source arises that deluge of iniquity which has over-flowed the world; from this preference of interest to honesty proceed every unjust litigation, and every act of violence, and yet nothing is more certain, than that "whatever is unjust, must, upon the whole, be disadvantageous."

The Danish history is replete with instances of the impartial administration of justice, and probably none more interesting than that related by Holberg the historian, of one of the early acts of Christian IV.

Three young noblemen of the name of Friis, committed a violent assault on Peter Skram, another young nobleman, in the public streets of Wiborg; in which the former, although their opponent was wholly defenceless, barbarously cut off his right hand, dreadfully wounded his left, and otherwise inflicted various blows and bruises in a way degrading to humanity. Shortly after one of these three wretches died, but the other two were called to answer for the atrocity of their conduct. The cause was tried at Copenhagen in the presence of Christian IV. then scarcely more than fourteen years of age. The case being opened, and evidence heard, some 'privy counsellors, keeping in view the rank of the persons accused, attempted an unqualified palliation of their con-

duct, insinuating that the existing laws had not provided any punishment for their offence; and that the rank of the illustrious prisoners entitled them to acquittal.

Christian, who had been very attentive to the whole process, now rose, and asked in a loud voice, "If the code contained no passage where such an offence had been expressly mentioned, and the mode of punishment directed? The Chancellor replied in the negative; and added "That it was enacted, by the laws of Schonen, that if both the hands of a slave were cut off by a free man, a fine of three marks should be paid, as well as a proper recompence to his master." But this argument was loudly opposed by others of the counsellors, who interrupted him, and explained with unbecoming warmth, that the laws of Schonen were not the laws of Jutland: and that they moreover had been written in the days of slavery. Hereupon the young King exclaimed with great animation, "What! is a slave in Schonen to possess greater rights than a nobleman in Jutland? when men of rank debase themselves by the commission of flagrant crimes they become unworthy of their privileges. The criminals before us, shall lose their honour, and pay a fine of three marks: this do we adjudge.—He who is dead must be judged by God."

The council remained silent; some from admiration, and others from conscious shame. No one dared to offer any objection to the sentence of the young King, which was accordingly carried into effect.

Many persons unfortunately possess so independent a spirit, that it cannot bend to the sway and caprice of others; a practice more essentially necessary in official situations, although a departure from it at times may be justified; for as Sir Pertinax Macsycophant observes, "the manœuvres of pleeability, are ass necessary to rise in the warld, as wrangling and logical subtlety are to rise at the bar, and unless a man was awways booing and booing, as it were by instinct, in the presence of a great mon, and observing that, as an infallible nostrum, he must never expect till thrive i' the warld." The want of this necessary acquirement has doubtless been of essential injury to more than one person, for those that entertain ideas of independence, must occasionally differ with the "great mon," who seldom, if ever, forgets a decided opposition to his will or opinion.

In the course of the war, and during the neutrality of Denmark, a circumstance occurred which gave rise to no small portion of envy in the breast of a certain Envoy, at my receiving a mark of distinction from the Danish East India Company, the Directors of which seemed more inclined to listen to my advice, founded on long official experience, than a stubborn system of unavailing diplomatic proceedings, which were pursued by the Envoy, in consequence of the detention of an Indiaman in a British port. After the usual legal proceedings had been adopted, as to the investigation of the ship's documents, &c. the captors offered to restore the vessel upon a formal claim of the property; this was

resisted by the Envoy, and as strongly urged by me; several meetings took place on the subject, the forms of the Admiralty Court were not to be disputed, and ministerial remonstrances were made in vain. A delay of several weeks ensued, and a considerable expense incurred: my advice, as originally given, was at length adopted by the Company, contrary to the opinions of his Excellency; the legal forms were complied with, and the ship, as at first proposed, was restored.

Upon the production of the restitution of the vessel under the seal of the Admiralty Court, the Envoy's sardonic smile may better be conceived than expressed: it was impossible for him to censure the success of my efforts; he could not help feeling, however, that his diplomatic pertinacity had been unavailing, and had even thwarted the wishes of the Company. His mortification seemed not a little increased, when I afterwards shewed him the following letter, which had been transmitted me on this occasion.—

[&]quot; SIR,

[&]quot;The zeal and disinterested ardour with which you undertook, and finally accomplished the restitution of the Company's ship Prince of Augustenborg and her cargo, deserves our marked approbation. A report which we made to the Permanent Board, or Committee, of your transactions in this affair, caused the following resolution to be passed.

[&]quot;'The Committee finding the wish and opinion of the Direc-

tors to be well founded, unite in idea, that at the general meeting of the Proprietors, a proposition should be made to transmit a letter of thanks from the Directors and the Company to Consul Jens Wolff; and as a token of their approbation, that an offer should be made to him of the Company's largest Gold Medal.'

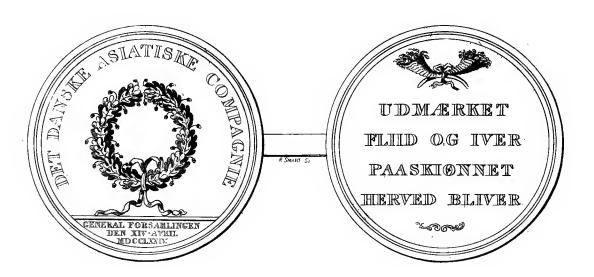
- "This proposition we accordingly made to the Proprietors at the last general meeting, held on the 18th inst. when they were pleased to determine as follows:
 - "' The proposition is unanimously approved.'
- "We are in consequence highly gratified in communicating this resolution to you, as you thereby may judge how far the proprietors know how to appreciate the merits and good deeds of a deserving man.
- "We leave you to determine in what manner the above mentioned proof of acknowledgement shall be conveyed to you, as it will remain at your disposal with us until we are favoured with your reply.

"The Directors of the Royal Asiatic Company.

(Signed) Skibsted. Vogelsang. C. Anker."

Copenhagen, 27th September, 1806.

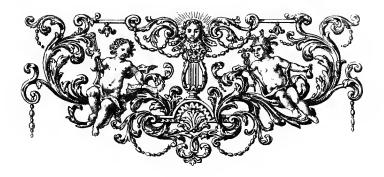
Size of the medal, with its inscription.*



It has been justly remarked, that envy is a painful sensation, excited by the view of something desirable in the state and situation of another, which self-love wishes to appropriate; that it entertains a degree of sorrow that the good contemplated should escape ourselves, and of anger that it should fall to the share of another. The inordinate self-love which excites envy, naturally induces the envious person to imagine that he is more deserving than the object who has been favoured. He contemplates his own supposed merit in opposition to the supposed demerit of the more happy object, until he becomes fully convinced in his

^{* &}quot;The reward of distinguished zeal and perseverance."

prejudiced judgment of the injustice of the distribution, and feels a spirit of resentment arising against the possessor, and every cause of his enjoyment. Rochefaucault says, "Jealousy is in some sort rational and just, as it aims at the preservation of a good which belongs to us; whereas envy is a frenzy, that cannot endure even in idea the good of others." This was fully exemplified on the present occasion: the nearly impenetrable countenance of the Envoy when we again met, was evidently marked by mortified pride, which could not even be completely disguised under the diplomatic mask of sang froid; he was however too deeply versed in his career of politics, to express his sentiments on the subject of our controversy; and of course, I felt that perfect consideration due to his exalted station, as to forbear exciting his envy by a display of the gold medal, in his Excellency's presence.



CHAPTER XVI.

Principal Seats near Copenhagen — Roelighed—A domestic Scene—A friendly Visit from an Enemy—The Spring of Emilia, or the Weeping Eye—Delicious Poison from a Pure Spring.

"When in th' effects she doth the causes know,
And seeing the stream thinks where the spring doth rise;
And seeing the branch, conceives the root below:
These things she views without the body's eyes." Davies.

Most of the principal seats, or country-houses near Copenhagen, are designated by some appellation, according to the fancy or choice of the owner. Such as Sans Souçi, Friedenlyst (the love of peace;) Vinskibelighed (industry;) Sorgenfrey (free from care), Hermitage; Roelighed (tranquillity), &c. The latter is the residence of my excellent and kind friend the Hon. Carsten Anker, whose protracted stay in England ameliorated his taste, inducing him to fit up his villa in the English style, and decorate it with portraits of some of our men of rank and great characters. This peaceful spot, from its isolated situation, fully accords with its name; it commands a fine view of the sea, and is surrounded

by a thick wood, a delightful retreat to a man immersed in business or public concerns, who occasionally retires from the busy scene of action to refresh and invigorate the mind. In a conspicuous part of his dining room, Mr. Anker had placed a drawing in water colours of Sherwood Lodge, once the tranquil and retired residence of his friend!

When the Island of Zealand was invaded, and taken possession of by the British army, a detachment of the guards took up their quarters in the neighbourhood of Roelighed, and on entering the house, were surprised at being received and addressed in their native language by Mr. Anker's servant, who had attended him in England, inviting the officers to partake of some refreshments; and spreading the table, presented them with beef, ale, porter, and Cheshire cheese. The walls were decorated with correct likenesses of Lord Wellesley, Nelson, Pitt, Fox, and other persons of celebrity. English caricatures met their eyes in all directions; and every article they touched was of British manufacture. It was impossible to pay the nation a greater compliment; they, no longer felt themselves on hostile ground; and in return for their hospitable reception, gave strict orders that Roelighed should be unmolested whilst they remained in the vicinity of the metropolis.

My long intimacy with Mr. Anker caused the few hours I spent at his country seat to be peculiarly interesting: he was then surrounded by his family: Erich amused us by his étourderié; Peter, the second son, by his absence of mind, of which he gave frequent proofs. At dinner his father sent him in search of a manuscript,

and surprised at his long stay, a servant was dispatched to ascertain the cause, when Peter was discovered sitting on the floor in the library, surrounded by books, and enveloped in papers, and so completely engrossed by the subject he was perusing, that he no longer recollected either his errand or his dinner. Annette, a sweet girl of seventeen, sat by my side, innocent and gay, with a thousand little fugitive graces playing around her, pouting her pretty lip, when Erich amused himself by teazing her, whilst their father enjoyed the domestic scene, nor thought of the future deprivations which he was destined to experience!

It was the last time we thus all assembled together! Peter being shortly after sent to Eidsvold in Norway, to superintend his father's estate and extensive iron works. Wishing a relaxation from the fatigue of business, on a sultry day, he in an evil hour bathed in the river Glommen, the stream carried him beyond his depth, and he sunk to rise no more! Poor lad! had he lived he would most probably, from his studious disposition and natural talents, have been an ornament to his family and his country.

In returning from our excursion, we passed the residence of Count Schimelman. It is reared on an eminence, and remarkable for a monument and fountain, which has been placed by the Count at its foot, near the road, to commemorate the loss of a beloved wife; the water is made to spout from an aperture in the shape of an eye, and is a symbol of his grief, at the same time that it is intended to allay the thirst of the weary and passing traveller. It is called "the Spring of Emilia, or the Weeping Eye."

Trees which almost reach the summit of the mount, throw a shade over the spot, and benches are placed in different situations to invite repose or indulge in contemplation. A peasant maid attends to hand a cup of water to the passenger, who, while he rests a moment, is delighted with the immediate prospect of the sea, not many yards distant from his feet. I took a copious draught from this pure spring; and at the moment wished it to possess the power of the river Lethe, which, as Milton observes, is the river of Oblivion, rolling his watery labyrinth, which "whoso' drinks, forgets both joy and grief."

I have tasted the waters as I passed the current streams of the Thames, Severn, Wye, Tagus, Douro, Guadiana, Ebro, Scheld, Po, Tiber, Arno, Var, Seine, Loire, Rhone, Elbe, Eyder, and the Glommen; but none were so sweet as that which flowed from "Emilia's Eye."

"Bold deed to taste it, under ban to touch."

From this I drank, but it could not quench my thirst; a feverish heat ran through my veins as I took the chalice from my lips; I reflected that I had drank from the pure stream of another's woe; and in contemplating the lot of a fellow mortal, it but increased my inward griefs. Let the unwary therefore heed lest he drink "delicious poison" from Emilia's eye; for all the waters of Lethe will not obliterate the remembrance of such a draught, nor "raze the written troubles of the brain with its oblivious antidote."

CHAPTER XVII.

Royal Museum—Exaggeration of Travellers and Writers— Pontoppidan's Kraken—The State Prisoner, and Sir John Carr's Lamentations — Archenholtz's Description of the King's Bench—The Danish and German Drama.

Perituræ parcite chartæ. Juv. SAT.

"In mercy spare us, when we do our best
To make as much waste paper as the rest."

THE Danish Royal Museum is an object of curiosity to every traveller. Amongst a great variety of articles of considerable value, there are several exquisite carvings in wood by Norwegian farmers; a peasant of the name of Halvor Fanden resident near Dram, excelled so much in this art, that connoisseurs would for his carved cups, give their weight in silver. There is likewise a bust of Christian V. carved in wood, by a shepherd, who in the year 1688, when the King went to Drontheim, stood in the road to see his Majesty pass; and received so strong an impression of his face, that he was able to represent every feature and lineament to the life, without having ever seen the original but this once en passant.

—A great jug of ivory, with the triumph of Bacchus, of exquisite workmanship, by Jacob Hollander, a Norwegian.—A variety of antique tankards curiously carved.—A flagon of rock chrystal beautifully engraved. This part of the collection formerly included a magnificent horn of gold found in Jutland in 1639, and which an Irish Knight, (not knowing it had been purloined previous to his arrival) enumerates, in his tour, amongst the curiosities he saw in the Museum.—A massive piece of raw silver, from the Kongsberg mines in Norway; this rare natural curiosity is five feet in length, weighs 560lb., and is calculated to be worth 5000 dollars.—A small anchor which retained a vessel, wherein Christian V. was embarked in the Baltic, after all the other anchors had given way during a tremendous storm: this has been gilt, and the following lines now appear on it:

"Gud hold paa mig, og ieg holdt Christian den femte, Der en forvildet Storm i Öster-Söe ham klemte. To Rigers Liv og Död paa to Iern-hager laae, Ieg derfor her skal til et ævigt Minde staae."

"Me Deus, at tenui Christianum hæc anchora Quintum, Cum gravis Eöo surgeret unda mari. Sceptra duo in ferro tremuere injecta bisulco, Hinc rutila ad seros anchora stabo dies."

In the Cabinet of Medals, which contains both coins and medals of considerable value, the appropriate motto of "Oculis non manibus" strikes the eye, and reminds one of the 8th Commandment: something of a similar inscription was placed near the pictures at Versailles, after the French revolution, "Jouissez, Citoyens, mais ne touchez pas."

A number of antiquities of the country are added to a variety of other articles, which it is unnecessary for me to enumerate. I cannot, however, pass unnoticed the palace of Rosenberg, where, in a small room adjoining the hall of justice, there are dinner and other services, vases, wine glasses, and goblets in pure chrystal, which were presented to Frederic IV. by the Venetian States: the collection is of considerable value, and tastefully arranged. In another apartment, Christian the Fourth's saddle, enriched with pearls, is shewn, which he once used upon a magnificent gala day at Copenhagen: report states the value of this saddle to be 30,000 pounds, but this is certainly much over-rated.—There is likewise an assortment of jewellery, and a beautiful service of Danish porcelain, on which is exquisitely painted Flora Danica, or the indigenous productions of Denmark and Norway.

Travellers are too apt to fill their volumes with lists from printed statements of public and private collections of paintings; and as a proof of their intimate knowledge of the arts, criticise without mercy every portrait or historical subject that comes within the range of their ideas. Rubens, Raphael, Michael Angelo, Paul Veronese, Annibal Carracci, Titian, Teniers, and a hundred other great masters, are continually in their mouths: if they can dispute

the originality of a piece, or discover a defect which hitherto has escaped the notice of the *cognoscenti*, they arrogate as much credit to themselves as if they had the genius of a Zeuxis or Apelles; when probably they are as uncertain judges as Alexander, of whom it is related, that when Apelles painted his picture the monarch expressed but little satisfaction; at that moment a horse passing by, neighed at the animal represented in the piece, supposing it to be alive, upon which the painter said, "One would imagine that the horse is a better judge of painting than your Majesty."

Such persons should rather adopt the plan of the French writer who published an account of a "Voyage autour de ma chambre," avowing such to be his intention without quitting his arm chair, to which, as an invalid, he was confined; but this is the language of truth, which few are willing to adopt, as it would at once annihilate their figurative and overstrained descriptions, and all the technical jargon which they introduce to confuse and perplex their readers.

There are likewise writers who place implicit belief in whatever they occasionally hear; the evidence of others, is to them "confirmation strong as proofs of holy writ." Amongst these we may fairly class the Danish Bishop Pontoppidan, to whom we are however indebted for the Natural History of Norway. This worthy man has immortalised himself by a description of that wonderful sea monster the *kraken*, otherwise known in the North by the appellation of *kraken*, *krabben*, *horven*, *soehorven*, and

anker-trold. Report states this animal to be at least a mileand a half in length, its extended arms being capable of embracing the largest man of war, and in an instant pulling her tothe bottom of the sea. At a distance the kraken is represented as having the appearance of an island; it was discovered by fishermen, in an hundred fathoms of water, whose lines finding a bottom at twenty, they apprehended the presence of an enormous fish, and hastily withdrew; shortly after they had a sight of the monster rising from the sea, its back looking like a number of small islands, surrounded with something floating, and fluctuating like sea-weeds, here and there a larger rising being observed similar to sand banks, on which various kinds of small fishes were seen continually leaping about, till they rolled off into the water from its sides; at last several bright points or horns appeared, which grew thicker and thicker, the higher they rose above the surface of the water, sometimes standing up as high and as large as the masts of a middling size vessel; these were supposed to be the monster's arms. Whoever reads this surprising narrative, can no longer doubt the miracle of Jonas and the whale; they appear as minor objects when compared with the kraken and the ship of war. It may be deemed a fortunate circumstance for the British navy, that these animals are not very prolific, otherwise it might be a hazardous attempt to cross the North Sea, or venture into the Baltic. Had Baron Munchausen added this account to his fabulous descriptions, it might have been handed down to future nurseries; but when a Bishop states

it as a fact, we require a Papal bull to absolve us from the sin of disbelief.

OTHER travellers endeavour to excite our sympathy or compassion, by giving interesting and melancholy details of state prisoners, confined for life in wretched dungeons for petty crimes, and which, according to their ideas, reflect eternal disgrace on the tyranny of the existing government; these fetters they forthwith wish to break, and emancipate the prisoners, by personally representing the grievous case to the ruling powers, not doubting but their humane efforts would produce the desired effect. Such was the case of Sir John Carr, who in imitation of Sterne, shuts his imaginary captive in a dungeon, and then looking through the twilight of the door, takes his picture. He relates a circumstance in "the course of his rambles," when he visited the Citadel at Copenhagen, and the prison where Struensee and Brandt were once confined, of being conducted by the jailor through a gloomy stone passage, where, after unlocking and unbarring a massy door, which led up a winding stone stair-case into a cell, " a sunbeam slanting through a small grated window," presented to his view a man of most respectable appearance, and of about the middle age of life, emaciated by long confinement, and bowed down with grief. As he approached, a faint blush partially spread over the prisoner's sallow cheek, and a tear stood in his eye, which he endeavoured to conceal with his hand, and with a bow of humiliation turned from Sir John to a little bird cage, which he

was constructing. After our traveller had apologized for the intrusion, and hastily turned to the door, he beheld a beautiful boy standing near it, apparently about eight years of age; his look at once explained that the prisoner was his father; the face of this little child of sorrow was the most artless and expressive our traveller ever beheld. As he descended, the boy followed, and when at the bottom of the stairs, enquiry being made why he looked so pale? the little Danish creature replied in French, "Ah, Sir! I look so, because I have just recovered from a fever; I do not always look so; I shall soon be well, but my papa never will." Money was then put in his hand, and he was desired to take it to his father; this he immediately returned, saying, "No, Sir, indeed I must not, my father will be angry with me." The efforts were in vain—it was a scene of affecting misery! The jailor took up the boy, kissed him, and bidding him return to his father, closed the door. The author then vents his grief by exclaiming, "Oh, how I wished that that merciful prince, whose ears are ever more open to the sounds of suffering than of flattery, had heard what I heard! the looks and language of the little prattler would have pleaded for the wretched prisoner."

The fact was that this "respectable looking person, who by means of a "slanting sun-beam" was discovered with "a faint blush, and a tear at command, constructing a bird cage," (a most appropriate allusion to his own state of confinement,) with his beautiful pale child of sorrow, had been convicted of forgery, and was confined as a prisoner for life. Had this crime been committed

in England, this interesting criminal would have been suspended from a gallows! Sir John's lamentations, therefore, are unfortunately, in this instance, somewhat misplaced; but they tend to shew the accuracy of his information, though the utility is lost on those who for a moment take the public safety into consideration.

If a stranger wishes to gain a thorough knowledge of the manners and customs of a capital, it is not sufficient for him to frequent public places of amusement, to be introduced at court, or to exchange a few visits with the natives; it requires a residence of months, an intimate acquaintance with the language, an occasional range even in the humble walks of life, and more general local knowledge than what most foreigners can obtain, ere they venture to give a decided opinion of the country they have visited; and yet it is not unusual to read detailed accounts of the internal and external regulations of foreign kingdoms, their laws, politics, military and naval resources, with a long string of observations, which might even escape the notice of a native: how far such trite remarks, or deep researches are to be relied upon, is not for me to determine; but when prejudice or self-conceit guides the pen of either the poet or historian, Pegasus will at times fly too swift' with his rider.

WHEN Archenholtz, the German traveller, visited England, his income was limited, his extravagance of course in a short time conducted him into the King's Bench, where he remained immured for months. One should have imagined this would

speedily have disgusted him with the country; au contraire, seized with the mania of communicating his ideas to his fellowcountrymen, and in the true spirit of the "caccethes scribendi," he, in the course of a short time, published his travels, wherein, as one of the chief objects during his residence in London, he gives a most interesting description of that building, which he terms "the most splendid prison in Europe, its inhabitants enjoying unlimited freedom, riot in luxury, and partake of every amusement in taverns, where public dinners and balls are given by noblemen and ladies of rank." In this fascinating abode it was as difficult to resist the charms of beauty that met his eye on the public promenade, as to avoid being ensuared by the love of gambling, which in this seat of luxury and ease not unfrequently tempts a man to complete his ruin. In short, it might have been concluded from Archenholtz's report, that the King's Bench was an epitome of the capital, and that not to have resided in it, betrayed a want of taste and knowledge of the world; and but for the Insolvent Act, this happy and contented traveller might have enlightened our weak ideas with so many more observations, as probably to stagger the belief, whether confinement under such circumstances might not be preferable to liberty and a moderate income.

ONE of the most interesting performances at the Danish Theatre is Herman von Unna. The music is of the Abbé Vogler's composition. This piece being replete with scenes taken from the secret tribunal of the Inquisition, is protracted to an unusual

length; but the patience of the audience is amply repaid, and the perils that Herman encounters from the secret intrigues, and private accusations of his rival, who is one of the chief members, create a degree of interest which is never suffered to slacken.

The mania of writing plays is chiefly confined to Germany, where there has been for years past a rage for theatrical exhibitions. The booksellers shops are from time to time over-run with new plays; and writings of the dramatic kind always occupy a third part in the catalogue of new books.

We are accused in England of being partial to murders and representations of ghosts. Voltaire gives Shakspeare no mercy in his criticisms in this respect; but the Germans far outdo our scenes of death. It has been stated as a fact, that the pieces which exhibit most madmen and murders, meet with the greatest approbation, and the actors strive to invent new ways of dying on the stage.

I recollect at Hamburg seeing the Gamester performed, which not being sufficiently tragical to interest the dull and torpid feeling of these speculating citizens, Beverley is represented with a razor in his hand, about to cut the throat of an only son, fast asleep on the couch: thus intending when he had taken the fatal dose, to render his race extinct; at the instant his wife rushing in, arrests his arm, and prevents the additional crime of infanticide.

Schiller's tragedies are a specimen of the German Drama. It is a singular circumstance that the "Minister" and the "Robbers," his best performances, should have failed on the English stage.

The earlier pieces of Schiller were generally read in translations of various merit. The versions of Leonora, of Oberon, of Wallenstein, of Nathan, and of Iphigenia in Tauris, are among those which do most honour to English literature.

A few years since, Goethe brought out a piece, which although possessing great beauties, was upon the whole the most extravagant that was ever produced. It represented the Peasant War under the Emperor Maximilian; and the burning of villages, firing of towns, &c. were acted to the life. It was called "Gots of Berlichingen with the Iron Hand;" notwithstanding the great demand, it could not well be represented on the stage, the infinite changes of scenery, and the incredible heap of machinery and decoration necessary, being too expensive, and tending to make the performance endless.

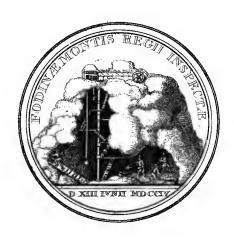
Shakspeare, whom Goëthe, probably from whim or with the view of drawing the attention of his countrymen to that great poet, proposed as an example in his Gots, became instantly the idol of the German dramatic writers; but not the Shakspeare, who, like Raphael, paints man as he is, under every circumstance, and expresses every movement of the muscles and nerves, and every emotion of the passions; but he, who for want of sufficient acquaintance with the originals, and due education, gives himself up to his own wild whims, flies over ages, and countries, and worlds, and in the pursuit of his fluctuating objects, does not trouble himself either about unity or order.*

^{*} Madame de Stael has given so eloquent and descriptive an account of the

Many of the German plays have been translated, and are occasionally represented on the Danish stage; but few authors surpass their native Holberg. In genuine wit or humour his talents in the comic line are irresistible, and his dramatic genius soars unrivalled.

From Strasbourg, the celebrated actress Mademoiselle Dumesnil came into public notice, and astonished the Parisians at the *Theatre Francais*; by following the dictates of nature and the impulse of her own mind, she displayed a sensibility, pathos, and energy, which were perfectly irresistible.

German drama that I need only refer to her work for an elucidation on this subject; but who is it, that has not read her d'Allemagne? which as the Edinburgh Reviewers justly observe, "is a work, which for variety of knowledge, flexibility of power, elevation of view, and comprehension of mind, is unequalled among the works of women; and which in the union of the graces of society and literature, with the genius of philosophy, is not surpassed by many among those of men."



CHAPTER XVIII.

Utility of travelling—Horace Walpole's Ideas of Happiness— The Love of Titles—Nine Classes of Society—The Junker of Fashion and English Boy—Delights of Literature—Freedom of Thought, and quick Transition of Ideas.

" L'imagination gallope, le jugement ne va que le pas."

I HAVE frequently remarked, that a traveller, when properly introduced into the fashionable or domestic circles of a large city, becomes sooner acquainted with its varied scenes of dissipation and attraction, than the resident, who seldom stirs beyond his own immediate connections, or places of resort.

In the short space of two months I had seen every thing worthy of observation at Copenhagen, and had frequented so many public fêtes and private parties, that I began to sigh for domestic tranquillity at home. How expressive, and with what truth, Horace Walpole in his correspondence with Madame Deffand, gives his opinion relative to the pursuits of happiness.

"Vous renoncez, dites vous, au projet d'être heureuse, comment telle projet vous a-t-il pu rester si long tems? C'est un projet du jeunesse, et dont la jeunesse seule peut profiter, n'étois que parceque la jeunesse seule est capable d'avoir une telle idée. Tout expérience mondaine prouve qu'on ne peut arriver qu'à la tranquillité, à moins d'être sot. Voilà les gens heureux! La félicité est une chimère, et qui existant se détruiroit elle-même parcequ'on seroit au désespoir de la certitude qu'il faudroit qu'elle finit. Les dévots qui sont des usuriers mettent leur bonheur dans le fonds du Paradis, et se réfusent le nécessaire pour avoir des millions dans l'autre monde. Pour mésurier notre bonheur ou malheur il faut se comparer avec les autres. Vous et moi, ne sommes-nous pas mille fois plus heureux que les gueux, les prisoniers, les malades? Et sommes-nous beaucoup plus malheureux que les princes, les riches, et tout ce qui s'appelle des gens fortunés? Voilà une réflexion qui me donne de la véritable dévotion. Je rends grace à la providence de mon sort, et je n'envie personne."

Adulation to the great, is the necessary "order of the day," at courts, where titles abound, and are the peculiar marks of distinction. Whether these titles are hereditary, or attached to official situations, or are merely nominal, they become essentially necessary where precedence is an object of the first consequence. Titles that may be purchased, are easily acquired by the man of wealth, who thus obtains an ephemeral superiority, which extends not beyond the verge of life any more than riches; but is frequently the "sine qua non," of admission into society, and the passport by which alone the idiot, the profligate, or the low-born, pass the threshold of the truly great.

The Germans and Danes not only attach titles to their official and professional situations in life, but many have titles, the "vox et preterea nihil;" such as Etats-Raad, Iustits-Raad, Conference-Raad, or Geheim-Raad, without the trouble of attending to any of the duties attached to these offices. Every person is likewise addressed according to his profession, trade, or business: such as General Inspector of the Roads, Procurator, Mr. Grosserer (or merchant), or Mr. Brewer, descending down to the lowest occupations; it is therefore impossible to mistake the object of address, which would frequently be the case if they were all denominated squires or gentlemen. Where there are nine classes of society, it becomes necessary to have a constant reference to the red book, with a view of making those nice and necessary distinctions which the several persons expect from those by whom they are addressed. If to this is added, that in the four first, or principal classes, there are no less than fifty-eight gradations of rank, it becomes a fearful object to settle and arrange the points of precedence.

Frederick III. of Prussia once received a petition from a rich citizen of Berlin, requesting he might be nominated a "Privy War Counsellor." As the fee was considerable the petition was granted, on the express condition that the Citizen should never presume to give his opinion on any military question whatever! But exclusive of the positive title, there is a dignified phrase which must precede it, the omission of which is unpardonable in the extreme. Barons are stiled Wohlgebohrne; Counts, Hoch-Wohlgebohrne; and Electoral Highness, Euer Churfurstlichen Durchleuchtigkeit.

Woe be to him who forgets those appendages to their Excellencies or Highnesses! he has no chance whatever of becoming a courtier. The wives of titled men invariably expect to be addressed by the rank of their husbands. A plain *Madame* is literally nobody, she can have no pretensions whatever; her daughter is a *Jomfrue*, and is passed by unnoticed. If the lady in question wishes to appear with any kind of eclat, she must be a *Frue*, and the daughter a *Fröken*. The husbands of the Mesdames have therefore no peace; when ambition is a ruling principle, until a title, however small, has been obtained, which places them on a footing with the *Frue*; this is the commencement of distinction, the value of which is duly appreciated; and of which my worthy deceased relation, the Frue General Krigs Commissairinde, availed herself on all occasions, more particularly when she honoured the humble Mesdames with her notice or protection.

I happened to be initiated very early in the nine gradationary steps of society; the Norwegian rector, at whose house I remained two years, was of too aristocratical a disposition not to instil into the minds of his pupils a due subordination and proper respect for their superiors; if we passed the house of a great man, we were instructed to bow, whether he was visible or not: omissions of this description were to him, crimes equal to those of *léze-majesté*, and never over-looked. Amongst his pupils was the son of a Conseiller d'Etat, a sickly, silly youth, by birth a Junker.* It was then the fashion to equip children as grown persons; girls wore stiff

^{*} An Esquire, or son of a titled person.

brocades; boys, courtly suits, their hair full dressed, laced ruffles, and velvet shoes, with shewy buckles. My simple dress and flowing locks was a strong contrast to the appearance of the young Dane. Nature and art vied with each other; the natives scarcely knew to which to give the preference. I envied not his toupée à la fer du cheval, avec des ailes du pigeon, et une queuë à la prusienne; whilst I ranged the fields in wanton mood, he was restrained from bending, or lowering his upright form, lest he might derange the costume of the day: the labour and operation of an hour, was not to be destroyed by the giddy action of a moment; and the Junker, whose pale looks and rickety frame harmonized well with his external dress and deportment, was too well taught to disobey the severe injunctions of the stern and inflexible Rector.

The intercourse with England, and the practice of many of the Norwegians sending their children to be educated in this country, at length gradually abolished the absurdity of giving to puberty the appearance of manhood: the occupation of the perruquier has ceased; the toupée, the stiff and formal curl, the cattogang and queuë, have vanished, and nature has at length assumed her rights in opposition to fashion and its preposterous follies. Its domineering sway is however at times not less conspicuous in the general decoration of the persons, than by the expression of our thoughts, or in our actions; the man who once submits to this tyrannical custom becomes an abject slave to the caprice of others. Who shall exert the freedom of the mind, if our looks are to be

held in subordination by either local customs, the fear of ridicule, or the assumed importance of wealth and power? The day is past when the man of genuine worth and merit, remained in insignificance because his extraction was mean, or his situation in life rendered unworthy of notice. The art of printing has awakened mankind from the besotted state of ignorance into which it was plunged, and the mind has been emancipated from the controul of Monks, who held it in captivity by the most intolerant and bigotted superstitions. Where even this art has been unknown, natural talents have produced substitutes, by which the mind has gradually expanded; and even the Peruvians have their Quipos, by which they regulate their public accounts, arrange their finances, or communicate their ideas to distant objects.

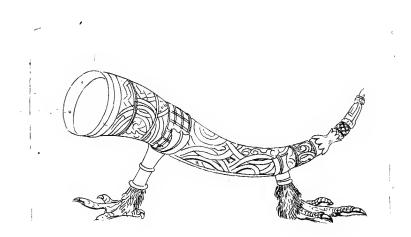
From the tracing of characters in sand, in the obscure ages of ignorance, to the emblazoned missals of the fifteenth century—from that period to the present enlightened æra, when knowledge circulates in a thousand varied shapes of progressive improvement, we may gradually trace the expansion of the human intellect, and the advancement of science. Thought engenders thought! the more we dive into the secret recesses of literature, the greater becomes the thirst for the improvement of our faculties, and our anxiety increases as we drink from the Pierian spring, or taste the waters that flow from Helicon.

Happy are those who can thus cheer the hour of solitude, who heed not the loss of society, and whose desert becomes a paradise, in mental researches which do honour to human nature! It is justly

observed by a celebrated female writer, "Qu'il est presque impossible d'avoir de l'ame sans que l'esprit soit cultivé. Comment pourroit-on sans la connoisance des langues, sans l'habitude de la lecture communiquer avec ces hommes qui ne sont plus, et que nous sentons si bien nos amis, nos concitoyens, nos alliés? Il faut être mediocre de cœur pour se réfuser à de si nobles plaisirs. Ceux-là seulement qui remplissent leurs vies de bonnes œuvres, peuvent se passer de toute étude; l'ignorance dans les hommes oisifs prouve autant la sécheresse de l'ame que la légèreté de l'esprit. L'ignorance au milieu des raffinements de la socièté est le plus odieux de tous les mélanges, elle rend à quelques égards semblable aux gens de peuple que n'estiment que l'addresse et la ruse, elle porte à ne chercher que le bien être et les jouissances physiques, à se servir d'un peu d'esprit pour tuer beaucoup d'ame. A s'applaudir de ce qu'on n'éprouve pas; enfin à combiner les bornes de l'intelligence avec la dureté du cœur ; de façon à n'avoir plus rien à faire de ce régard tourné vers le ciel, qu'Ovide a célèbré comme le plus noble attribut de la nature humaine."

What is so consolatory in the absence of those we esteem or love, as the power of communicating our thoughts to the object of our affections? How welcome is the reply, where the mind unfolds itself at every page, and we inhale comfort and delight from the unrestrained effusions of love or friendship. With what perfect knowledge of human nature and the heart, Cowper describes the arrival of the post, and the domestic circle that anxiously await the communication of its foreign and domestic intelligence. Who

can resist the glowing description of those lines, the faithful delineation of a scene all must have experienced, and which I have oft witnessed in more distant climes, when in the frigid, a letter has arrived from the torrid zone; but thought, like the transition of a moment, brings the most distant object to our sight, space and eternity weigh but as straws in the pending scale; and when hearts beat in unison, the immeasurable ocean becomes a rivulet, our wishes or fears are transported with the rapidity of lightning, and hope, that cheers us in the metancholy hour of sorrow or despair, dispels the gloomy mist that otherwise would blight and cloud our fairest prospects.



CHAPTER XIX.

Invasion of Zealand by the Swedes, and Treaty of Roeskild— Again invaded in 1807, by a British Force.

"Tarde, quæ credita lædunt, credimus." Ovid.

We are slow to believe that which, if believed, would hurt our feelings.

The year 1658 will ever be memorable to Denmark by the treaty of Roeskild; peace was then established, after long hostilities, between Frederick III. and Charles Gustavus, King of Sweden, whose army being in Holstein, threatened to over-run all the Danish Islands, and dictate terms at the gates of Copenhagen; a threat which was most unexpectedly carried into execution by this enterprizing monarch, in consequence of an unusually hard frost, which facilitated the march of his army across the Belts and adjacent islands. It was an attempt replete with much personal risk, as well to the King as his troops; but martial ardour led him on, and perseverance accomplished the singular task: thus great minds overlook those dangers that would awe and terrify those of an inferior stamp, and even Fortune converts the climate to the benefit of her favourites.

Gustavus, taking advantage of a severe winter, determined at once to march his army across the Little Belt, in width eight miles, to the Island of Fyen. The army extended itself as much as possible in this hazardous enterprize, the cavalry leading their horses, the artillery keeping at a distance, and proceeding with cautious steps. When advanced about half way, a strong current of water, five feet in breadth, seemed to oppose the further progress of the troops; but Gustavus, undismayed, caused a temporary bridge to be thrown across the stream, and accompanied the army till it had passed the most dangerous part. The attempt however was not entirely free from loss and disaster, as a detached party, consisting of two companies of Waldeck's regiment, was drowned by the sudden breaking of the ice, and, together with the carriages of the King and the French Minister Terlon, who accompanied him, sunk at the same instant. This might have put an effectual stop to the further progress of his army; but the intrepid Gustavus filed off in another direction, and at length gained the shores of Fyen, where meeting with but a feeble resistance, he took possession of the Island, which surrendered at discretion.

The Great Belt, sixteen miles in width, was still uncrossed; it was reported to be sufficiently strong to bear the weight of an army; yet the King, not wishing to hazard the lives of so many brave men, preferred taking a circuitous route, which apparently was attended with less risk and danger. Without loss of time he crossed over to Langeland, a distance of nine miles, which island he reached in safety; thence to Falster, where he took possession

of the royal palace at Nykiöbing; the frost still continuing with such severity, that wine and oil froze in the casks, and their bread was obliged to be cut asunder by hatchets.

After leaving a small garrison at Falster, he proceeded on his slippery expedition, and arrived in safety at Wordingborg, in Zealand, to the astonishment of the natives, and great terror and apprehension of Frederick III. who to save his capital from a siege, which it was but ill prepared to sustain, made immediate proposals of peace, the terms of which were dictated by the King of Sweden, who might probably at that moment of dismay have gained complete possession of the Island, but from political motives, deemed it wiser to stipulate moderate terms, rather than run the risk of losing what he had obtained more by stratagem than force of arms; he therefore consented to a cessation of hostilities, and a conference was held, which it was as much the interest of one party to protract, as for the other to terminate, since a sudden thaw would have placed the invading force in an aukward predicament. A definitive treaty was however without loss of time arranged, in which Frederick III. relinquished his former possessions in Sweden, and every pretension to the provinces of Scania, Halland, and Blegind, furthermore surrendering Trondheim, Bahuus, Bornholm, and some privileges in Sleswig. After the signature of the treaty, the King of Denmark, as a mark of conciliation, invited Gustavus to an entertainment at the Palace of Fredensborg, where the hostile monarchs met and remained three days, without mistrust or suspicion; a proof of great confidence in

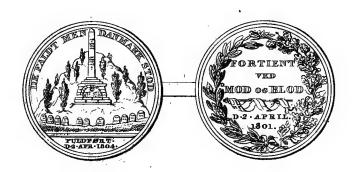
Gustavus, and for which, at the time, he was somewhat censured; but they were "both valiant, as men despising death, both confident, as unwonted to be overcome."

It is a singular circumstance, that when a British army invaded the Island of Zealand in 1807, and gained possession of the Danish fleet, at a time when such an act of hostility was the least expected, it became an object of debate, whether the island should be retained or abandoned. A reference to the occurrence in the year 1658, might possibly have had some weight in determining this important question. The ice-bound Belt had once facilitated the approach of an hostile force, such an event was again within the scope of possibility; a garrison, in such case, would have been inclosed within the walls of Copenhagen, without a chance of succour, destined to stand a siege against any force that might have advanced from Holstein; and, as in "doubtful cases, reason still determines on the safer side," Zealand was abandoned upon the uncertainty of the tenure.

I will not enter on the policy of the measure, the injustice of it is undeniable; the question has been so frequently agitated in both Houses of Parliament, and so much written on the subject, that the matter may be considered as set at rest. To those, however, who from national prejudice arrogate to themselves a right to decide on all political questions, without the trouble of minute examination, I recommend the perusal of a pamphlet published in 1809, entitled "The Outlines of a Political Survey of the English

Attack on Denmark, translated from the Danish of Hellfried;" as likewise Lord Erskine's admirable speech and protest in the House of Lords. If these documents fail to convince the most sceptical, it is impossible to offer more powerful arguments, and in vain to contest the point with those who equally refuse to listen to the dictates of truth and reason.

THE following medal, was struck on the occasion of the memorable battle of the 2d of April, 1801. One side represents a mound of earth, near Copenhagen, under which repose the ashes of those who fell in the engagement; the motto, "They fell, but Denmark stood. Completed 2d April, 1804." The reverse, "Merited by courage and blood, the 2d April, 1801.



CHAPTER XX.

Plutus and the Graces at variance—Domestic Arrangements at a rich Man's Table—Michaelmas, or Preparations for the Winter—Inhabitants of Amager—The Brazen Dish and successful Gaufre-Man.

"Still follow where auspicious fates invite,
Caress the happy, and the wretched slight,
Sooner shall jarring elements unite,
Than truth with gain, than interest with right." F. Lewis.

Dr. Johnson observes, "There is scarcely any sentiment in which, amidst the innumerable varieties of inclination that nature or accident have scattered in the world, we find greater numbers concurring than in the wish for riches; a wish indeed so prevalent, that it may be considered as universal and transcendental, as the desire in which all other desires are included, and of which the arious purposes which actuate mankind are only subordinate species, and different modifications. But we do not find that any of the wishes of men keep a stated proportion to their powers of attainment. Many envy and desire wealth, who can never procure it by honest industry or useful knowledge. They therefore

turn their eyes about to examine what other methods can be found of gaining that which none, however important or worthless, will be content to want."

It is observed of gold, by an old epigrammatist, that " to have it is to be in fear, and to want it is to be in sorrow."

There is no condition which is not disquieted either with the care of gaining or of keeping money; and the race of man may be divided, in a political estimate, between those who are practising fraud and those who are repelling it. Gold will turn the intellectual balance when weighed only against reputation, but will be light and ineffectual when the opposite scale is charged with justice, piety, and veracity.

Amongst those who studied the accumulation of wealth as the chief good in life, none shone more conspicuous at Copenhagen than Mr. ——; he inhabited a house of large dimensions, in which, on gala days excepted, half the windows were closed, when like the man who throws his net to catch the passing fry, he opened wide his doors to invite the traveller, the glutton, or the gambler, to his board. Riches had rendered him, haughty, proud, and over-bearing; these he had amassed by speculations far and wide, by strict attention to the duties of his compting-house, and superintending sales of produce of the East and Western World. The language or manners of such a man, could therefore not well be expected to partake of a refined civilization, or bear marks of either the Graces or the Muses. It was enough for Mr. —— that he received with complacent smiles, those who had fetters of intro-

duction, and by an invitation to his table, he satisfied himself whether the stranger was a literati, a merchant, or a man of pleasure; the first and last were deemed useless members of society; the middle man was courted, and easily persuaded, that his host was the only person who most effectually could render him the services he might require in the furtherance of his commercial pursuits.

As in other countries rank and wealth take precedence of intrinsic worth, or humble merit; so at Mr. ——'s table, the affluent were held in most respect. At one of his feasts, when dinner was announced, I offered my arm to the daughter of the host, I selected her, as apparently possessing more modesty than her father's splendidly attired guests; and thus in opposition to his wishes to place myself in the upper seat, I became the neighbour of his daughter at the lower end of the room, where his wife was stationed, and who equally desired me to relinquish a situation, which I soon discovered was solely calculated for the nice arrange-The mind of Miss ——, like a neglected soil, ment of the table. was more luxuriant in weeds than flowers; her father's sole ambition was to portion her off to a man of property, to whom he thought mental accomplishments must necessarily be of little value; "for why should she that's rich be wise?" When I therefore asked her opinion of the relative beauties of Gessner, or Klopstock, of Schiller, or of Göethe, she stared, and seemed to require some little elucidation on the subject; but when I detailed the sufferings of Charlotte and Werter, her mother's impatience became apparent, and hastily slipping some keys under the table, Miss —— was dispatched to the store-room for a fresh supply of sweetmeats, which, by a toothless dame's predilection for preserves, had rapidly disappeared. Mrs. —— was one of those careful matrons who never trusted her daughter, or keys, beyond her reach; it was evident, by her affected smiles and anxious looks, that during the repast I had deprived her of the valuable assistance she was in the habit of receiving from her obedient daughter; necessity therefore at last compelled her to become both principal and agent, and quitting the room, she locked and unlocked her stores as the necessities of the guests required; her exertions passing unnoticed by those, who at their own houses were full as careful as herself. If the wages of domestics are low, and suspicion accompanies their actions, confidence must necessarily cease: hence arises the necessity for those in superior stations in life to watch and guard their property as if they were surrounded by locusts, who only waited for an opportunity to devour what came within their reach.

Domestic economy is at all times praiseworthy; but when it descends to parsimonious meanness, it not unfrequently defeats its own purpose, as it encourages petty thefts, for which otherwise there would be neither occasion nor necessity.

In Norway, where butchers' shops, and a daily supply of fresh provisions are unknown, Michaelmas becomes an important and a busy period: the preparation for laying in a winter's store is great, and in large families exceeds all calculation. Oxen, sheep,

calves, pigs, and porkers, are indiscriminately slaughtered; the pickling, preserving, potting, smoking, and sausage operations commence; ladies of rank intermix with their servants; all the females of the house are collected together; the whitest arms are bared, and soon become impregnated with salt; the ruddiest complexions turn pale with fatigue; and if a stranger should on these occasions enter the house, he would be at a loss whom to address as the mistress of it.

The difficulty of obtaining vegetables and fresh provision in the North of Europe, is however amply repaid by a frequent supply of game, and various kinds of fish, in the mode of preparing which, even the Catholics do not surpass the Lutherans. French beans, green pease, and fruits, such as apples, pears, walnuts, and filberts, are preserved in their cellars, and brought fresh to table in great abundance. French wines of every description (frequently mixed and converted into bishop, or cardinal) are drank at a moderate expense. Coffee, prepared by a skilful hand, with rich cream, and liqueurs of almost every description, combine to render a winter repast not much inferior to our summer delicacies; and in fact, a Danish cook who understands her métier, has seldom occasion to refer to the Almanac Gourmand, to satisfy the most fastidious epicure.

Wishing to pay a visit to the inhabitants of the Island of Amager, near Copenhagen, I requested the Professor to accompany me; and repairing on a Sunday morning to this Dutch

colony, we found the natives in their gayest attire. The annexed print shews the dress of a young and elderly man, retaining the true character of their forefathers the Dutch, whose breeches will ever be the store-room of their riches. The female represents a person going to church; the short petticoat I conceive to have originated more in economy than from motives of vanity, as the Dutch are not remarkable for their neatly turned ancles; and as black and red stockings are not so soon soiled and are more durable than those of a lighter colour, they are almost invariably used.

It is singular that human beings should feel inclined to disguise their natural shapes by an *outré* appearance, or vitiated taste; and that a female, to whom nature evidently points out what is attractive in the form, should assiduously conceal those perfections which are its greatest charms: unlike

"The Graces with their zones unloos'd
The nymphs their beauties all expos'd."

thus the flowing lock, or luxuriant tresses, are studiously hidden under a close cap, nor require gnomes or sylphs to protect them from the lover's scissars.

The fine form of the neck and swelling bosom is flattened down and concealed by ponderous stays; and lest love should gain admittance through the transparent gauze, the dress of cloth is made to guard every aperture to the heart, which, as Prior observes, is

"A place nor god, nor man denies,
For Venus' dove the proper nest."





Deasant Drefs in Realand).

A certain protuberance is however reckoned so essentially necessary, that these ladies invariably wear four or five additional petticoats, rivalling the Hottentot Venus in all her charms; and, like the Parthians,

" Shoot their arrows from behind."

The towering head-dress, the gold or silver buttons which decorate the throat, the ornamented glove, the tassels suspended from the prayer-book, and party-coloured shoe, are evident proofs that vanity makes its way into the female breast, even though cased with all the formidable appearance of a hawksbill tortoise; and yet such uncouth ornaments cannot fail to disfigure far more perfect forms, and convert beauty into deformity.

The neat appearance of the habitations, and the internal arrangements of their domestic utensils, do these good people however at all times great credit. Being anxious to possess one of the brazen or copper ornaments which decorate their apartments, and are considered as heir-looms in the family, I with difficulty persuaded a scrupulous house-dame to part with the bright trophy of her heraldic honours; the opposition was increased by her eldest son's objecting to the purchase. With bitter tears he bewailed his seeming loss, and blubbered out a last farewel to the dish which contained his daily gaufres; but tempted by the display of four golden ducats on the board, he relinquished his inheritance, took an additional whiff from his meerschaum pipe, and gradually assumed the phlegm of all his race.

Gaufres were introduced a few years since at Paris by a speculating Dutch pastry-cook and his wife, who hiring a small boutique, established themselves in the Palais Royal, inviting the passengers to partake of this delicate patisserie. In a short time the Dutchman's shop, ornamented à la Hollandoise, with all its characteristic neatness, became a fashionable lounge. To taste his gaufres at the hour of noon, was to the promenaders an affair of the greatest importance; and in a short time Mynherr, and his pretty Vrouw, realised an independence for which they might long have toiled in their local residence at Amsterdam.



CHAPTER XXI.

Conversation with a Danish Lady—Comparison of inanimate Beings with the present Race of Greek Women—Mahomet's Paradise—Calogrians—Occupations of Danish and English Ladies of Fashion contrasted.

"La beauté de l'esprit donne de l'admiration—celle de l'ame donne de l'estime et celle du corps de l'amour."

Discoursing one day with a very sensible woman, whose enlightened mind, and experience in wordly affairs, had taught her to argue freely and without prejudice on most subjects: I jokingly observed, that if she had been a native of Turkey, she must have forgone all hopes of future bliss, as the Mahommedans would not have allowed her an entrée into their celestial paradise, where the men alone expect and hope to dwell in the society of the Houris, with large black eyes, who are not created of clay, like mortal women, but of pure musk; being, as their prophet often affirms in the Koran, "free from all natural impurities, defects, and inconveniences incident to the sex; of the strictest modesty, and secluded from public view;" in pavilions of hollow pearls, so large,

that as some traditions have it, "one of them will be no less than four parasangs, or as others say, sixty miles long, and as many broad, the rivers flowing with water, wine, milk, and honey, all taking their rise from the root of the tree Tuba." Madame de R. in reply observed, that it was well for the race of man this belief was not generally entertained; for they would then infallibly lose the society of those women whom on earth they most esteemed, and were examples of conjugal love or female excellence; and make but a sorry exchange for celestial beings, with whom the sensual appetites are alone to be gratified, and which, in the absence of all other enjoyments, must eventually flag and droop, although ten thousand Houris administered to their pleasures. Not but that many earthly females seem to justify the opinion of the Turks as to their being bereft of souls, acting as mere machines, or going through their diurnal occupations devoid of interest, and advancing in years without the least mental improvement whatever; and, like the Torpedo, appear to benumb those who approach them. Such bodies, I replied, whether appertaining to the male or female classes of society, in every country, may easily be distinguished; Lavater pourtrays their every teature. Ennui seems eternally to hover around them; they are spell-bound by the wand of Somnus, or become the votaries of folly and ignorance; they listen to the voice of harmony with a vacant stare, the finest efforts of the pencil are lost upon them. Of the exquisite taste or genius of a Zeuxis or Apelles they have no conception, the powerful eloquence of a Socrates or Demosthenes would fail to interest them:

Athens, they would receive less gratification in viewing the finest specimens of antiquity, than in lounging in their easy chairs at home. In the perceptions of the mind they are woefully deficient: they can laugh or cry from the sudden impulse of joy or grief; but it is momentary, the exertion soon subsides into a sombre calm; it is in vain to attempt instilling notions of perfection into their impenetrable ideas; mental pleasure they have none, it is all corporeal, and even that but of a transient nature, like a distant flash of fire through a dense and heavy cloud.

Madame de Stael observes, "N'y a-t-il pas des hommes qui n'admirent pas Raphael, qui entendent la musique sans émotion, à qui l'océan et les cieux ne paroissent que monotones? Comment donc comprendroient-ils les orages de l'ame."

A disciple of Pythagoras, who believes the transmutation of souls, would transfer his, for a temporary habitation, into the body of a dormouse, a tortoise, or an elephant: We, on the contrary, unthinkingly incline to the opinion of the Mahommedans, by exclaiming, "it is an endless task to make an impression on such beings, they are devoid of sense or feeling, and have no souls;" and would justify the remark that I recollect made of a person, "Qu'on a oublié de l'enterrer, car certainement il n'est pas en vie." But if they really possess the celestial spark, the terrestrial dross so completely overpowers it, that it must remain a doubtful question what will be their fate hereafter; for as they cannot be rewarded for virtues of which they have no conception,

so it would be unjust to punish them for crimes which their want of energetic character prevents them from committing. Let us then rather turn from this disgusting and uninteresting feature of human nature, to the page of Sonnini, and peruse the character he gives of the Greek women, "who are still lovely in their forms, as those exquisite models of human beauty bequeathed by the genius of their ancestors to the imitation of unborn ages; and their playful but indolent dispositions, their tenderness and ardor flowing from the same source that lends their manner its animated softness, that gives their eye its languid brilliancy." Sonnini thus describes them:

"Elles sont très susceptible des impressions de l'amour, tendre et passionée; l'objet aimé est toute à leurs yeux; aucune sacrifice, ne leur coute pour les preserver, et elle sont en ce genre des vrais heroines. Les Grècques se distinguent en général par une taille noble et aisée, et par une porte majesteuse, leurs traits (que la beauté dessine) réfléchissent les affections vive et profonde de la sensibilité, le calme de leur visages est celui de la dignité, sans en avoir sa froideur, ni le sérieux; elles sont aimable sans prétension, décente sans morgue, charmante sans affecterie; si à ces qualités brillantes l'on jointe l'élévation dans les idées, la chaleur dans les expressions, ces élans de la simple et naive éloquence, qui enchante et entraîne, un entière dévouement aux personnes chéris, l'exactitude et la fidélité dans les dévoirs; on aura quelque idée de ces êtres privilégées dont la nature dans sa munificence a décoré la terre, et qui ne sont pas rare dans la Grèce."

"In truth," said Madame de R-, "this is a description that makes me envy the local qualities and perfections of such superior, beings; I scarcely know an instance of any female that would bear a comparison with the fair Greeks."-" And indeed," I observed, "even in a more populous and enlightened country than Denmark, in an island celebrated for the beauty and perfection of its female inhabitants, I believe there exist but few that could vie with them. If we look for real perfection in the mental character, we must, in some respects, have recourse to fiction, and trace it in a 'Corrinne of Italy,' or 'Isadora of Milan.' Like our language, it improves by being blended or intermixed with that of the natives of a more genial clime; for the English are too apt to be reserved in their deportment, which gives the effect of coldness of character; and foreigners, with reason, complain of the difficulty of being admitted into our social circles, or partaking of the comfort of our fire-sides. It is perhaps not easy to draw the line between the gay and volatile, the profligate and the abandoned, they are so frequently united in the upper circles, where rank and riches are the chief distinctions, that the more prudent part of society fall into opposite extremes; and it is therefore in vain to expect unlimited hospitality, if suspicion guards the door of admittance'.'

"Every country," replied my fair friend, "has its peculiar customs or habits; in some we find hospitality carried to an excess; in others, frigidity of manner forbids the too near approach of common acquaintance: friendship, like the aloe, is but of slow

growth, and is rarely brought to perfection. In Turkey, women are the slaves of men; in the Island of Lesbos, or Mitylene, (as it is now termed), the scene is reversed, and the Amazonians bear the palm of victory, openly usurpign those rights of sovereignty, which in other countries, is the undoubted privilege of the male character; contrary to general usage, the eldest daughter there inherits, while the sons are portioned off with small dowers, or turned out pennyless to seek their fortune. She becomes entitled to all her mother's possessions, and the father is compelled to ruin himself, by adding whatever he may have scraped together by his industry. The second daughter inherits nothing, and is condemned to perpetual celibacy; she is styled a Calogria, which signifies a Nun, and becomes her sister's menial servant. When the eldest marries, she enjoys every sort of society, the family fortune is hers, and she spends it as she pleases, her husband is her obsequious servant, her father and mother are dependent upon her, she dresses magnificently with pearls and pieces of gold, which are generally sequins, while the wretched Calogria follows her as a domestic, arrayed in simple homespun brown, and without the most distant hope of ever changing her condition; such are the privileges of the Lesbian women. Had Rousseau lived in this island he would have found his axiom false, or at least mal place, when he asserts, "Que les âmes mâles ont un idome, dont les âmes foibles n'ont pas le grammaire.

"But I need not go so far to convince you of the disparity of the rights and wrongs of our sex; in England they enjoy tenfold the advantages which we do in Denmark. On a visit to that country, I have seen married women give parties, and receive their guests, as if the master of the house was not in existence: they seemed in constant pursuit of variety, and not unfrequently appeared to dissipate their pin-money, (which to us would be little fortunes), without thought or care; while the decoration of the person, and a round of amusements, seemed to occupy their every hour. Domestic arrangements form our morning employment; we but seldom appear in public; and our husbands take good care to claim the natural superiority of their sex; but notwithstanding that we do not participate in the advantages of English women, and have less sway and power; yet I am willing to conclude our happiness is not decreased by the curtailment of our privileges."

Here our conversation ended. We agreed that local habits and prejudices were in many cases insurmountable—that the shortest and most prudent road to happiness, was, in endeavouring to be content with the station of life in which we have been placed; and whether we were natives of England, Denmark, Turkey, or the Archipelagan Islands, it would be folly to repine and murmur at the decrees of fate, in not possessing more rights and privileges than other human beings; and we ought rather to thank heaven, that like the unfortunate Calogrians, we were not by birth totally excluded from participating in the luxuries and comforts around us.

CHAPTER XXII.

Departure from Copenhagen—The farewell Kiss—Roeskild—
Tombs of the Danish Kings—Return to England.

"Da mihi suaviolum (dicebam) blanda puella."

On quitting Copenhagen, after a stay of three months, I could not but regret leaving friends and acquaintances in whose society many a pleasant hour had been passed. It is the irksome task of a traveller to cut as under those ties which time might otherwise ripen into settled and permanent friendship. It is truly observed "Que c'est un singulier bonheur de rencontrer quelqu'un qui plaise et qui convienne; il arrive rarement et pour l'ordinaire ne dure guères." In one little month we frequently partake of more real enjoyment, than at other times in the protracted space of a year.

Civitis, a Roman senator in the time of Trajan, gave up his various offices and retired into the country, when sixty-nine years of age, and seven before his death. He ordered the following sentence to be engraved on his tomb: "I have continued seventy-six years upon the earth, and have only lived seven." Thus it is with the generality of mankind: were we to calculate and reflect on

our distinct periods of gratification and real happiness, it would be nearly in the same proportion.

Three days I was occupied in paying my farewell visits; in some houses le prendre congé was a mere matter of ceremony, in others it became an affaire de cœur; and there were some, whose looks verified the truth of their expressions, that my departure would be regretted.

The good Professor was anxious to accompany me to Roeskild; had his official duties admitted of his absence, I firmly believe he would have gone with me to England.

My friend Anker, with whom I had been on longer terms of intimacy, insisted on conveying me in his carriage the first stage, and arrangements were made accordingly. I dined with him en famille the day of my departure. With Erich, his eldest son, I took a parting glass; his flow of spirits and good humour had enlivened many an hour. When it came to the turn of Annette to say, Adieu! I pressed a warm and parting kiss upon her coral lips. "Once more," her father cried, "that she may not forget you."—"Once more," I said, "and the boon may make too deep an impression upon my memory." I recollected at that moment the "Basia of Secundus," wherein the parting kiss is thus described:

"One kiss, enchanting maid!" I cried,
"One little kiss! and then adieu!
Your lips with luscious crimson dyed,
To mine with trembling rapture flew.

٠,

But quick those lips my lips forsake,
With wanton tantalizing jest:
So starts the rustic from the snake
Beneath his heedless footstep prest.

Is this to grant the wish'd-for kiss?

Ah, no, my love! 'tis but to fire

The bosom with a transient bliss,

Inflaming unallay'd desire."

I ventured however to obey the injunction; Annette blushed—long silken lashes hid the expression of her eye, but a gentle pressure of the hand assured me that her feelings were in unison with her father's wishes. A few more such adieus! and I should have remained spell-bound in the capital. I hastened therefore into my friend's carriage, which was at the door, drew down the blinds, and in a few minutes we had passed the last gate of the city.*

It was a mournful stage of twelve miles! I recapitulated to my companion the events of the preceeding three months: he reminded me of the numerous acquaintance he had left in England, where during a long residence he had experienced boundless

^{*} Since my departure, another melancholy event has occurred in my worthy friend's family, the tidings of which he was himself the bearer, on his recent arrival in England. On enquiring after the interesting Annette, tears gushed from his eyes, and he exclaimed, "Alas! she too is gone in the bloom of youth and flower of her days!" I grasped his hand, and felt deeply for his loss; to offer consolation was vain. "May those she leaves behind to plant a cypress at her grave, mingle roses with it!"

hospitality. It was the chord of friendship pulling different ways, We parted! I remained at Roeskild, amongst the tombs of the Danish Kings. The spot was appropriate to my feelings; the evening was cool, the lamp of night shone with uncommon lustre: I wandered through the cloisters erected under the auspices of Harold, grandfather to Canute the Great.*

The object of my journey had in more than one respect been fruitless; and my expectations, founded on well grounded hopes, were far from being realised. I reflected on the instability of human affairs, the folly of ambition, and the thirst of glory or

* The mineral springs at Roeskild are celebrated for their salubrious qualities. This town, once of importance, is indebted for its name to King Roe, who was the original founder of it, and the Danish word Kilde, which means a well or spring; of these there are no less than ten, each bearing a distinct name, and some differing materially in taste from others.

When King Harold Blaatand was converted to Christianity in the year 948, he built a church in Roeskild, and it is rather a singular circumstance that the first bishop should have been an Englishman, of the name of William or Wilhelm

King Roe is reported by the historians to have died in England in the fifth century. The following lines appear in an old manuscript relative to this ancient town:

"Salve vas reliquiarum
Mons, quo surgit fons Rosarum,
Fons aquarum, flumen clarum,
Regnum Roe reficiens."

And in the Danish Chronicles Roe the King thus expresses himself:

"Siælantz Færa giorde ieg thet til Gaffn,
Ieg Hagækiöbing flyttæ til Ysefiord haffn,
Forthi han loo ther ey vel til max,
At skybe ther Gotz og seylæ saa strax,
Ieg hannum Roskylde kallæ lodh,
Af mig og Killen ther loo imodh."

riches. A train of ideas brought successive scenes to my recollection; retrospective views of happy hours past, but not forgotten, naturally caused me to look forward to the future; but anticipated pleasures may be blighted in the bud. If I admitted hope, that invigorating affection of the mind which preserves it from despondency, and animates us to struggle through the various difficulties in life, a ray of light would indeed penetrate the misty vapour; but it was attended by suspense, easily endured by persons of an indolent character who never expect to rule their destinies by their own genius; to those, however, who feel themselves possessed of energy and abilities to surmount obstacles, and to brave dangers, it is torture to remain passive; to feel that prudence, virtue, and genius, avail them not; that while ideas pass rapidly in their imagination, time moves with an unalterable pace, and compels them to wait, with the herd of vulgar mortals, for the knowledge of futurity. Unable to rend the obscure veil which attends our future destiny, I no longer pursued the fleeting shadow, nor dwelt on imaginary prospects, which too often flatter but to deceive, and end in bitter disappointment.

On quitting Roeskild, I determined to take a shorter route than is usually pursued by travellers: instead, therefore, of crossing the Great and Little Belts, by the way of Corsöer and Fyen, I traversed the islands of Falster, Laaland, Langeland, and Alsen; and on the third day after my departure, arrived at Husum, where I embarked in the packet. A favourable breeze conveyed me in

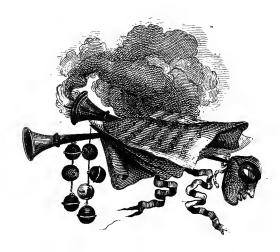
eight-and-forty hours to the English coast; and after reposing a night at Harwich, I arrived on the sixth day at Sherwood Lodge.

In concluding, I must meet the observation of those who may think I have descanted somewhat freely in private anecdotes of different persons with whom I have been acquainted. To this I have to reply, that although a traveller has a certain license in canvassing the merits, or criticising the actions of every person whom he encounters on his road, yet ill-nature, or severe criticism, have never guided my remarks. We have all our defects; and were the mirror of truth to be held before our eyes, few there are, but who at some period of their lives would probably have cause to blush at past transactions.

If I have quoted from other writers, it has solely proceeded from a view to illustrate some point of history, or other matter connected with the subject; and few will be over solicitous to enquire from what source their entertainment is derived, provided they receive gratification in the perusal.

In endeavouring to sketch an outline of men and manners, it would be vain for me to aspire to the qualifications of those enlightened writers who are gifted by superior talents to amuse or instruct. The herbalist, the mineralogist, the zoologist, may be disappointed if they expect me to conduct them into the silver mines of Kongsberg, or detail-the various natural productions of the North: the unstudied flow of language that has guided my

pen, is but little calculated for such laborious attempts; the hour of relaxation may well be disposed of in subjects of a lighter nature. Let therefore those who hesitate to award the meed of praise, at least be slow in passing premature judgment, or precipitate condemnation; for, as Madame de Stael in her Essay on Fiction remarks, "to some beings there would be no home in the universe; and they might even detest a nature so insulated from human fellowship, if they did not listen to the impassioned feelings of a kindred bosom. If the unfortunate being who is exhausted by early sorrow or continued disappointment, while disengaged from the vain struggles of fallacious hopes, shall discover in some eloquent and pathetic page, a friend, a companion, a being to whom he is known, he is soothed and pleased; and the book that but for one day suspends the corrosions of anguish, performs a part not unworthy the best of men."



APPENDIX.

HAVING laid down my pen, at the termination of the foregoing Northern Tour, it was far from my intention again to have resumed it on a political subject; but the interesting events which have so recently occurred, and which, in their effect, may press so heavily on a country in many respects dear to me, compels me to make a few observations, founded on truth and matter of fact, devoid of sophistical argument. To those, who peruse official documents, in preference to the biassed opinions of the writers of the day, whose local prejudices are confined within the narrow sphere of self-interest, or still narrower circle of information, and who can attentively consider the sentiments, and digest the powerful arguments of an animated noble orator, who boldly stands forward as a champion for the rights of nations: do I commit the consideration of The nervous language, the Ciceronian the following pages. eloquence replete with sound sense, the true and established jura gentium, as confirmed by the best writers on that subject, which formed one of the ablest speeches I ever heard in the Upper House of Parliament, still resounds in my ear, still vibrates on every sense of acute feeling; and in endeavouring to collect together the threads of so voluminous a discourse, I

not only satisfy the inward feeling of my own mind, but I may possibly gratify those of others, who take more than a common interest in the passing occurrences of the day, and in the general sufferings of humanity.

I feel for the Norwegians! God forbid that I should not feel for them! for a portion of their blood flows in my veins, and in their fate I take a pardonable interest; I say pardonable, for though it may be a political fault to misconstrue the actions of the Government under which we live, or form an opinion in opposition to the ruling powers; yet the private sentiments of an individual like myself, can not only have but little influence, but may be deemed a venial error even by those who are disinclined to observe the axiom, "audi alteram partem,"—115 votes against 34, are fearful odds! when the existence of a nation is at stake, or its independence likely to be subverted ere it has obtained maturity. It is a grievous thought that one country famed for a system of freedom. justice, and liberality, should be called upon to crush in its birth, the very seeds of liberty planted in another; which has taken such vigorous root, and by its wide-extending branches affords such genial protection to the inhabitants in its own. It is an anomaly in politics which is unaccountable! an incomprehensible lusus naturæ!

> Ludit iu humanis divina potentia rebus, Et certam præsens vix habet hora fidem.

That the Allied Powers have bartered the rights of a nation, and assigned it, without its consent, to a hostile power, appears

so evident from the public documents now before us, and the Debates in the Great Council of the Nation, that it is not necessary for me to dilate much on the subject; and whether the act can be justified on the plea of necessity, or the urgency of the case, is for far more able pens than mine to prove or disavow; that it has been justified is beyond contradiction; nay it has been even asserted, that if it were not carried into execution, vi et armis, "the supreme Governor of the Universe would take up the gauntlet." How then, if this be not the erroneous tropes and figure of rhetoric, how shall mortals dare to retrace their steps, undo their acts, or attempt to stand between a sinking nation, and despair! But as Bassanio truly says—

"So may the outward shows be least themselves: The world is still deceived with ornament. In law, what plea so tainted and corrupt, But, being seasoned with a gracious voice, Observes the show of evil? In religion, What damned error, but some sober brow Will bless it, and approve it with a text Hiding the grossness of fair ornament? There is no vice so simple, but assumes Some mark of virtue on his outward parts."

And as for the Crown Prince, he now, in the language of Shylock, exclaims—

"I charge you by the law,
Whereof you are a well-deserving pillar,
Proceed to judgment: by my soul I swear,
There is no power in the tongue of man
To alter me: I stay here on my bond."

This bond is the treaty, signed and sealed at Kiel on the 14th of January; and how far England is bound to assist Bernadotte in the execution of his construction of the bond, is the matter of argument; and on this construction, right or wrong, depends the future political existence of Norway; for without the assistance of England, but one sentiment prevails—the Crown Prince, like Charles the Twelfth, might end his military career at the foot of the first fortress that separates the boundaries of the now two hostile countries.

Before I animadvert further on the political question in debate, it may not be amiss to make a few observations on the historical account of Norway, and the political relations with their restless neighbours the Swedes, as handed down to us by the best historians.

The Norwegians have, from the earliest period, been a brave and warlike people, but at times prone to cruelty and revenge. The country being for centuries past divided into small kingdoms, and the inhabitants having originally no idea of trade, which might have tended to soften their manners and character, continual warfare became their pursuit, and indeed principal occupation. Pirates, sportsmen, or fishermen from necessity, it may easily be conceived that mutual jealousy and discord gave frequent rise to bloody contests among the neighbouring chiefs, poor in inheritance, but savage in their manners. In the year 875, Harald Haarfager, one of their kings, a warrior of renown, succeeded in subduing all his rivals, amounting to thirty-one petty kings, and thus became the only and absolute monarch of the country. By his several wives and concubines,

v

he had a numerous progeny, who, of course, at his death, formed more or less pretensions to the rights of succession. Since that period, the fate of Norway has undergone various changes; at times united with Denmark by inheritance or warfare; at times an independent nation.

Canute the Great, King of Denmark, England, and Scotland, took advantage of the general discontent that prevailed in Norway, in consequence of the violent measures adopted by King Oluf the Martyr, for the purpose of introducing the Christian religion amongst his subjects, and being slain by them in an insurrection, Norway became the prey of Canute, and was annexed to Denmark. The rights and titles of those days were, however, generally speaking, of too irregular a description to admit of much political investigation. The real period, therefore, from which the union of Norway with Denmark may be considered as a fundamental deed, commences in the year 1380, when Hagen, a Norwegian king, married Margaret, a Danish princess, whose son Olaus succeeded to the crown, and thus became the lawful king of both countries. From this epoch, the union has continued until the present day: though it may be immaterial to the subject, yet, in point of fact, from the nature of this union, it may with equal propriety be asserted, that Denmark has been as much united to Norway, as that the latter country has been united to Denmark; for Margaret being solely a princess, and not actual Queen. of Denmark, and Olaus being her son, and heir apparent to the crown of Denmark, and at the same time actual Crown Prince of Norway, the lesser title must yield in point of rank to the greater: at any rate, the crowns of Denmark and Norway have been upon an equal footing, and there cannot, in fact, exist any pre-eminence except in the subtle formality, that Denmark stands foremost, or takes precedence in the titles of the reigning monarch. Olaus had likewise pretensions to the crown of Sweden by right of his father, being a son of Magnus Smeck. It is therefore stated, that Queen Margaret (the Semiramis of the North) made a proposal to the States of Norway, that Denmark and Norway should be united under one king. This was however not fully carried into effect, until after the death of Olaus, when this celebrated queen obtained possession of Sweden, &c. which caused the union of Calmar, whereby the three northern kingdoms became inseparably united in the year 1397. The articles of this union it is not necessary to detail for the furtherance of the object in view; suffice it to say, that this union, although established with great foresight, ultimately proved the source of endless discontent and bloody wars; although it appeared at first seemingly calculated for the tranquillity, as well as the security of the North. The Swedes were chiefly dissatisfied by this compact, as it had not been carried into effect by dint of strong persuasive argument alone, but with bribery; and even the sword had been drawn to establish and support the pretended rights of dominion.

The Swedes watched the first opportunity that occurred to break the fetters forced upon them, and the subsequent tyranny and cruelty of Christian the Second, afforded them ample cause to throw off the Danish voke. Yet this ambitious and despotic tyrant had solemnly promiseed not to violate the stablished rights of the Swedish nation. Whence it may be inferred, that, sooner or later, the bonds of unnatural restraint will infallibly burst with the more violence, in proportion to the disgust or acts of oppression with which they have been contracted. Gustavus Vasa, of immortal memory! broke the despotic fetters imposed on his countrymen, emancipated them from the galling chains of an unnatural union, and rendered them an independent nation. Christian the Second was, in consequence of his tyranny, deposed and imprisoned by his Frederick the First, his successor, declared own subjects. Norway an elective crown, and even offered to expunge the armorial bearings of this nation from the royal arms, as a proof that he did not consider it as an hereditary right of inheritance; but he failed to perform his promise.

Until the year 1660, Norway continued, like Denmark, to be ruled by a mixed form of government; but as the nobility of both kingdoms abused their rights and privileges, and treated the inferior classes with intolerable haughtiness and injustice, a revolution took place, and Norway, like Denmark, ceded the absolute sovereignty and hereditary succession to the king. This deed has, however, in no wise altered the nature of the national rights, which has been by some, pretended as a fact. It was but a change in the form of government. Though thus united with Denmark, Norway has invariably had its own

viii APPENDIX.

separate code of laws; and whenever any royal ordinance has been enacted relative to both kingdoms, a separate publication for Norway has always appeared, framed with a view to suit the particular views and institutions of that kingdom.

Norway has at various periods been attacked by, and subject to invasion from the side of Sweden—it is only necessary to refer to recent instances in this respect. Gustavus Adolphus having engaged troops from Scotland and the Netherlands, disembarked in the northern part of Norway, with the view of uniting this auxiliary force to his own army, which had entered the country from the frontiers; they were however defeated and slain to a man. Charles the Tenth attacked Frederickshald in September 1658, in February 1659, and a third time in January 1660; each time with increased forces, and commanded by his most experienced generals. Some historians pretend that Charles the Tenth was killed in the third attack of Frederickshald; this circumstance is however contradicted by others. Charles the Twelfth invaded Norway twice; first in 1716, afterwards in 1718. This last time he appeared at the head of 43,000 troops, and was not only at both periods repulsed with great loss; but in the second attack actually lost his life. The Swedes at the same time invested the town of Trondhiem; but learning the death of Charles, immediately retreated, and of 10,000 men, but 500 regained their own country. Such is the bravery of the Norwegians, and such the advantageous situation of their mountainous country, for self-defence.

The population of Norway amounts to about 900,000 souls,

APPENDIX. ix

and comprises nearly one-half of the whole population of the Danish dominions. The longevity of its inhabitants is notorious; and the situation, on account of the healthiness of its climate, very superior. It is difficult to ascertain the clear revenue of Norway; it has of late been considerable, by reason of the war-taxes; and when the olive-branch of peace shall once more return to this ill-fated country, the renewal of its trade will, be, in proportion to its population, of increased value, and the produce considerable. The balance of trade has at all times been in its favour, to the annual amount of several millions of dollars; but the revenue having since the union been intermixed with that of Denmark, no positive calculation can be made in this respect. The trade carried on between Norway and England has at all times been considerable, but more particularly in latter times, when from the improved civilization of the country, and laudable ardour of gain, and industrious toil of the people, a spirit of commerce has been generally diffused throughout the kingdom. The greater part of its export trade, consisting in the produce of its extensive fir-woods, or in timber and deals, has chiefly been confined to Great Britain, which, upon an average, has imported above 400 cargoes of fir planks annually, paying a duty of near half a million into the customs, and furnishing the numerous builders of houses with materials for that purpose. Norway receives, in exchange, the manufactured goods of these kingdoms, and the produce of its colonies: there is likewise a considerable importation of iron, copper, and fish, of which latter, lobsters bear no inconsiderable proportion.

X APPENDIX.

The advantages Denmark has reaped from Norway, has chiefly consisted in the free labour of the peasants, and from the excellent seamen the country furnishes, in remittances for exported goods, in the produce of the silver mines, in tithes on copper, &c. &c. Likewise in the exportation of corn to Norway, which could not be disposed of elsewhere, and in the disposal of an army of 50,000 men, of which but 2000 receive regular pay in time of peace. In losing Norway, Denmark is deprived of her right arm; and Norway disunited from Denmark may, under a wise government, be closely connected with Great Britain, and, in a well-understood treaty of peace with Sweden, become one of the happiest states in Europe.

When once Norway stands upon the high ground of independence, free from the shackles of despotic sway, and governed by its own laws, under a wise administration, there can be no doubt, that the trade of the country would progressively increase, the arts encouraged, literature would no longer languish, the fair and equitable rights of the press be established, and liberty raise her standard, under the auspices of an enlightened prince, who has been recently chosen Regent of the kingdom, and who, in every respect, is calculated to promote the happiness and welfare of his countrymen. Then indeed might the Norwegians chaunt their favourite national hymn, and the voice of concord and of liberty resound from the summit of the Dovré mountains to the distant shores of Scandinavia. But—if the natural rights of the nation are to be invaded, its exertions cramped by undue influence, its laws subject to partial regulations at the will or caprice of a

APPENDIX. xi

neighbouring power (which it has invariably considered as its natural enemy), its military power reduced, or placed under the orders of foreign generals, and its constitution subject to the veto of a king of Sweden — then would the Norwegians have but to lament and envy the glorious struggle of other nations for independence, and a government congenial to their clime, in harmony with their feelings; and, in brooding over their wrongs and bitter fate, exchange the ploughshare for the sword, and the mines of Kongsberg may, like those of Dalecarlia, in time emit a spark of enthusiasm, which, with volcanic force, may sever the chains which are now forging to unite them to a rival power.

I shall now proceed to notice a French pamphlet that has lately appeared under the title of "Reflections sur l'Etat actuelle de la Norvege," supposed to have been written by a Mr. Schlegel, in which the author remarks that "Le Prince "Christian, en anticipant sur le fonctions de souverain, se "donne l'air de nommer des ambassadeurs. On sait qu'il a "envoyé un plénipotentiaire en Angleterre, pour disposer le "gouvernement Britannique en sa faveur. Nous ignorons "quels argumens ce nouveau diplomate aura employés pour "plaider sa cause, mais on aurait pu lui répondre de la ma-"nière suivante: 'Quel motif si pressant vous porte à "demander notre assistance, lorsque sans l'intervention de "l'Angleterre vous étes au moment de passer d'un régime "absolu à un regime constitutionnel? Si vous aviez une si "grande envie d'etre independans, vous autres Norvegiens,

"pourquoi n'avez vous pas saisi l'epoque ou votre gouverne"ment vous opprimait en vous assujettissant un système conti"nental, et en exposant vos côtes à être bloquées? Il y a
"trois ou quatre ans que votre cause aurait pu trouver de la
"faveur en Angleterre; car alors en vous aidant a vous
"détacher du Dannemarc, nous aurions affaibli un ennemi
"opiniâtre. Mais alors vous aimiez mieux armer en course
"contre nous, et vous enricher comme les autres sujets Danois,
"des prises faites sur le commerce Britannique. Et à présent,
"pour recompense de ces hostilités, vous nous demandez de
"rompre nos engagemens avec un êtat allié, et d'eluder un
"traité conclu sous notre influence?"

" Qu'y a-t-il à opposer à tout cela?"

I am not actually informed of the arguments employed by the Agent from Norway on this occasion; but as the author assumes the liberty of dictating to government an answer to that Agent, I might with equal right compose a representation on behalf of the Norwegians.

I abstain however from such idle and conceited proceedings. Whoever will reflect with impartiality on the situation of the Norwegians, and on the late unexampled transactions concerning them, might easily find out acceptable arguments to bring forward. Suppose it were said, that when the Allied Powers promised to give Norway to Sweden, they disposed of a country which they had not conquered, and of which they were not in possession, of course, that the gift was null. That the King of Denmark could no more give away Norway, than the Norwe-

gians could give the king away. A sovereign may be indeed absolute in virtue of the constitution; but he is no proprietor, the kingdom no property, which may be sold or bartered, or lost by gambling. The consent of the people became indispensible. Grotius, Puffendorff, and Vattel, have laid down this rule as an axiom. When the King of Denmark renounces all his titles and rights as a sovereign of Norway, and releases the inhabitants from their oath of allegiance and obedience towards him, inviting them to surrender themselves to the Swedish government, he certainly has done all he was called upon to do, and all he had a right to do. It has been said by an illustrious character in a high quarter, that if the King of Denmark had a right to give up Norway for the benefit of Denmark, then indeed the King of England had a right to give up England for the benefit of Hanover. From these various observations, and many more, which easily may be adduced, we may be permitted to conclude, that the Agent of Norway, now in this country, who the author, with a sneer*, entitles "ce nouveau diplomate," has probably collected tolerable good arguments, sufficiently strong to justify his hopes of inducing the British Cabinet to desist from hostilities towards Norway. We know, that he has not succeeded, and with more it is not necessary for the public to be acquainted.

^{*} How far this gentleman deserves to be spoken of in a satirical tone, I leave to the reader to decide, being myself too partial, and having an unlimited esteem for him, to give an unbiassed opinion on the subject. Lord Grey's opinion of this worthy man is however decisive in this respect.

With regard to the author's answer, I will only make a few remarks: it is for the Norwegians to judge, and for no one else, how far the Swedish Constitutional Government would be preferable to the absolute *regime* of Denmark.

I can but refer to what Lord Grey has distinctly stated in his admirable speech on the subject. The assertions of the Agent of Norway have, by his Lordship, been considered as sufficient authority; to which I beg leave to add my humble opinion, having been at different times in Norway, and witnessed the most perfect practical independence.

Besides, it appears unnecessary to accept of a Swedish constitution, when the Norwegians may frame one for themselves, upon which much greater reliance can be placed.

To have struggled for independence before they were absolved from their oath of allegiance, would, in my opinion, have been rebellion.

England being at war with Norway, it would have been the most extraordinary supposition or pretension, that the Norwegians should have suffered their vessels to be taken, and remained inactive.

To say that they have got rich by the war, is too absurd an assertion to deserve an investigation. We may, however, safely conclude, that no such ridiculous answer, as the Author would have proposed, has been given to the Norway Agent.

In another part of the pamphlet, the following paragraph appears: "Cependant un Danois, ci-devant gentilhomme de "la chambre du roi, voulant passer de la Suède où il avait

" séjourné quelque temps, en Norvege, a été arrêté à la fron"tière et l'on a trouvé sur lui des papiers de nature à prouver
de telles communications et par lesquels le gouvernement
Danois est evidemment compromis. Le Roi du Dannemarc
donnes des congés aux officiers de son armée qui veulent
prendre service en Norvege. Deux mille matelots Norvegiens, dont le passage par la Suède avoient été annoncé,
"n'arrivent point, et doivent ètres envoyés par mer dans les
"ports de la Norvege."

The Author, who must have derived this anecdote from the Swedish newspapers, is not aware that the same newspapers have subsequently contradicted the story. The fact is simply this, that the gentleman in question, being a Norwegian by birth, solicited the King of Denmark's leave to return to Norway, where, by his talents and experience in the diplomatic line, he hoped to render his country some service. The permission could not be withheld; but it was granted with such reluctance and spirit of disgrace, that the petitioner was immediately struck out of the list of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber to the King,—a situation which he had held for upwards of twelve years; and it is even added, that he was deprived of this pension for the future.

These circumstances evidently prove, that the whole of this report is of Swedish manufacture, it being now the order of the day to calumniate both the King of Denmark and Prince Christian Frederik.

The fact is, that although this gentleman had been granted

a passport from Stockholm to pass through Sweden, he actually was arrested on his arrival in that country, probably on bare suspicion, but certainly contrary to usage in every civilized nation. As nothing has been published in the Swedish newspapers, we may safely conclude that nothing has been discovered.

That Danish officers have been dismissed from the King of Denmark's service, because they preferred that of Norway, is, in the author's eyes, a crime, and a proof of connivance. Are then the Danes, slaves, who dare not leave their country, or are they attached to the soil?

The author's 2000 Norwegian sailors are doubtless the ephemera of his heated imagination, for no such ridiculous circumstances, as sending seamen through an enemy's country, is known to any body but himself. But it is useless longer to dwell on such a tissue of absurdities.

The public papers have of late teemed with a variety of fabricated reports relative to the affairs of Norway; and articles have been inserted in the foreign gazettes, dated Lubeck, Bremen, Gottenberg, and other places, so void of foundation, and destitute of truth, that at length they have called forth an official reply which appeared in the *Morning Post* of the 19th of May. The article, to which I allude, is as follows:—

- "To the Editor of the Morning Post.—In your paper of this day, I find the following article, extracted from the French papers:—
- "LUBECK, April 30.—We are again assured, that Prince Christian Frederik has renounced Norway; and that a strong party has arisen there in favour of the cession to Sweden. They are called the

APPENDIX. xvii

Frères Anker, and stand out for the rights of the men of the North; at the same time, acknowledging the impossibility of making an independent state of a country so poor and thinly peopled as Norway."

"With respectful patience, though with disgust, I have read all what has been said and written relative to the Swedish party, which is boldly asserted now to exist in Norway, finding it needless to contradict empty accusations, destitute of proof, even of probability. But when names are mentioned with vilifying stigma, it would be contemptible pusillanimity to remain silent. I therefore beg, Sir, that you would, without any delay, be pleased to insert the following declaration in your paper—That the above quoted article, cunningly dated Lubeck, is a wilful and scandalous calumny; and that neither I, my brother, nor any of my relations of that name, are at the head of any party, nor members of any party, arisen, or arising in favour of the cession of Norway to Sweden, because we are neither perjurors or traitors.

C. ANKER,

Actual Member of the Regency of Norway.

York Street, St. James's Square, 18th May, 1814."

I will now, without further comment, proceed to state, as far as I have been able to collect, the particulars of Earl Grey's speech on the subject of the affairs of Norway in the House of Lords. It is utterly impossible for me to do adequate justice to the Noble Lord's sentiments on this occasion; his powers of oratory are of that transcendent nature, that no pen can follow the flow of his words; and if any

xviii APPENDIX.

inaccuracy should exist in the detail, it will not I trust be attributed to inattention, but the impracticability of taking down minutes of so voluminous and admirable a specimen of animated elocution.

Earl Grey rose, and spoke nearly as follows:—In times like these, my Lords, marked by so many extraordinary transactions, fraught with so many vicissitudes, and replete with so many dangers, whose auspicious termination is, I trust, about to re-establish the tranquillity of Europe, even in this eventful period it would not be possible to bring before your Lordships a question of greater importance, one more intimately connected with all those principles of justice and honour which establish the security of nations, than that to which I now mean to solicit your Lordships' attention. Every maxim of good policy—every maxim of political and moral justice, all those feelings which are imprinted on the hearts of men, by the unerring hand of divine truth, before they are transferred into our public codes of legislation-all these must be deliberately considered by your Lordships this night, ere you decide upon the fate of Norway, ere you determine her rights as a nation, ere you dispose of the destiny, perhaps the existence of her people. what people is it, whose fate you are thus to decide?—A people who have never done you any wrong, who have never injured any of your interests: a people who are known to you only by their virtuous character, by their meritorious services, by their interchange of good offices, by their extension of your commercial relations, and by their constant and unremitting discharge of all those duties which constitute the moral greatness and happiness of a nation. I will not do your Lordships the injustice to suppose that it is necessary to bespeak your patient and impartial attention to this subject, still less to suspect. APPENDIX. XIX

that you can be disinclined to the consideration of it at all. I shall proceed, therefore, to lay before you those views of it which I entertain, and which, if adopted by your Lordships in your decision this night, may be sufficient ground to induce you to control the Executive Government in what may appear contrary to the sound policy, contrary to that which is essentially characteristic of all sound policy—justice, or which is incompatible with the honour and dignity of the British Crown. There is one thing, however, which I wish to premise. be necessary to recall to your Lordships' attention the Treaty that was signed with Sweden last year, which was laid before your Lordships, and which your Lordships sanctioned, notwithstanding the opposition which was made to it by myself and some of my friends. It may be prejudice, it may be obstinacy, or it may be ignorance in me, but the opinion I then expressed I still retain in its fullest extent; I still think that British policy never sustained a deeper shock, the British character never received a deeper stain than in that transaction. I do not wish that you should retrace your steps, or recall a sanction, which, perhaps, it is no longer in your power to withhold-neither do I wish you to recommend any evasion of stipulations, or to escape any conditions, to the performance of which the good faith and honour of the country are pledged, however much it might be wished that such obligations had never been contracted. I know how weak my influence is in this House, and that whatever I may possess, little as it is, depends upon the credit, I trust, I have in it for sincerity and candour; but I will say, that there is no inducement on earth would urge me to persuade you to recede from objects which are stipulated and secured by the solemn guarantee of treaties. I am incapable of pleading for such a cause by any trick of argument, or any subtleties of distinction; and if it shall appear that under a fair construction

XX APPENDIX.

of the Swedish Treaty, we have contracted an engagement of assisting by the co-operation of force in the reduction of Norway; if that can be shewn; if it can be shewn that the conditions agreed to, require us now to act, and the measures taken to blockade Norway can be justified by honour and justice; then, my Lords, I call upon you to reject the motion I propose to submit to you. But, on the contrary, if it shall appear that you have contracted no such engagement, that while your good faith remains free and untouched, the measures you are pursuing are in direct violation of national honour, of social rights and of political justice; why, then, I hope I shall not plead in vain at a moment like the present, when all these principles are acknowledged and respected in the great questions that are now under discussion, as affecting the whole of Europe.

The subjects which naturally present themselves for your Lordships' consideration are,

First, Whether under a fair construction of the Treaty with Sweden such obligations can be urged as must be contended for to justify the measures that are now pursuing;

Secondly, Whether the obligations themselves are such as can be vindicated according to the established principles of the laws of nations, and the political rights of mankind;

Thirdly, Whether the King of Sweden, by the faithful performance of his part of the contract, was entitled to call upon us for the full discharge of our part of it; and,

Lastly, Whether the maxims of sound policy could justify such measures as are now pursuing with regard to Norway.

The first of these is a question of construction merely; and here it will be necessary to refer to the Treaty of last year, to carry back our recollections to the period when it was framed, to the objects con-

APPENDIX. xxi

templated at the time, and to the explanations given of it by the framers themselves, that is, by his Majesty's Ministers. It will be unnecessary to recall to your Lordships the circumstances under which that Treaty was entered into. The invasion of Russia had taken place; an invasion which characterized, more than any other event I can remember, that system of violence and injustice pursued by the late Government of France, and which has recently been so nobly revenged in the way that led to the present auspicious situation of public affairs in Europe. We acceded to the terms of a Treaty concluded between Russia and Sweden, by which we agreed, provided Sweden performed certain conditions, not to oppose the annexation of Norway to Sweden, but to use our good offices in obtaining that annexation, and even to employ force for the purpose if necessary. Upon what conditions, however, did the employment of force depend? Force was not to be employed unless the King of Denmark refused to join the Northern Alliance. If, therefore, by the co-operation of force we made the King of Denmark join the Allied Powers, then we accomplished all that we undertook, and every stipulation was thus fulfilled. This, and this alone was what we specifically undertook. As to what might be the subsequent condition of the people of Norway, it formed no part of our engagements; we did not guarantee the peaceable possession of the country by Sweden. I wish your Lordships' attention to be particularly fixed upon this, because, in the Treaty between Sweden and Russia, the possession is guaranteed, while it is excepted and excluded in our Treaty with Sweden. It cannot, therefore, be contended that we are bound to any such a guarantee; and with regard to the mere construction of the Treaty the case is clear and distinct. But I should be sorry to stop here: I should be sorry to rest upon any judgment of my own, when so much higher authorities are within my

XXII APPENDIX.

reach, and which amply support my construction. I have, I say, the authority of the framers of the Treaty themselves: his Majesty's Ministers are my authorities. And here I beg leave, in the first place, to refer to a paper which, for reasons that I am unacquainted with, has not yet found its way to the public eye, in the usual course of such documents. In the Treaty signed with Denmark on the 14th of last January, I find, in the tenth article, the following declaration:—" Whereas, his Danish Majesty, in virtue of the Treaty of Peace this day concluded with the King of Sweden, has to his said Majesty ceded Norway for a certain provided indemnity. His Britannic Majesty, who thus has seen his engagements contracted with Sweden in this respect fulfilled, promises, &c." Here is an acknowledgment on the part of those who framed the Treaty, that the cession of Norway by Denmark (I shall say a word or two presently on its validity and execution) was a complete fulfilment on our part of the conditions which we had stipulated. But the question does not even rest here. I have referred your Lordships to what passed last year, when the terms of the Swedish Treaty were discussed. It will be remembered that the question arose, and doubts were stated by myself and others as to the extent of our engagements with regard to the ensuring the peaceable possession of Norway and Guadaloupe; and it was answered, that no guarantee of their peaceable possession was either expressed or implied. In another place, my Lords, I have also, in support of my argument, the authority of that particular minister (Lord Castlereagh) whose peculiar duty it is to watch over our foreign relations, and whose authority, if there can be any difference of weight between the authority of one minister and another, is most entitled to prevail. He, in reply to some questions that were asked, expressed his surprize, in the first place, that any one could be so unacquainted with the nature of public treaties as to imagine APPENDIX, xxiii

that any guarantee could be contracted which was not expressed; and the second declared that no guarantee was contracted with Sweden for the peaceable possession of Norway. Why then, if this be correct, (and from the manner of the Noble Lord opposite he seems to assent to it) I call upon you, my Lords, to declare whether the cession of Norway to Sweden was not the only object in view, and not the securing its peaceable possession.—I do say, therefore, that I think a plainer case upon the construction of a treaty never existed, and that we are fettered by no such obligation as that by which the blockade of Norway is now defended. The employment of force, as I have already shewn, was made to depend upon the performance or nonperformance of certain things by Denmark; and even if force were resorted to, it was to be used with every possible regard to the comfort and feelings of the inhabitants of Norway! At what moment, too, are we now called upon to co-operate with Sweden in forcing the Norwegians to submission?—After Denmark has acceded to the Northern alliance; when her troops have marched in support of the common cause; and when she has not only ceded Norway, as far as she could cede it, but has fulfilled that condition upon the refusal of which the co-operation of force was distinctly made to depend. the question of construction, therefore, if it rested upon that ground only, I think a clearer case is made out than was ever submitted to But there are other grounds. When there is any thing ambiguous, nothing is more obvious than that where two meanings are contended for, the one lawful and the other not, we are bound in any case, and especially in a doubtful case, to do that which is lawful. But when we come to consider a question of right, and whether this is an obligation which we did or can contract, I mean that it is fundamentally void, as contrary to the most acknowledged principles of law

and justice. I speak in the hearing of lawyers, who are not unused to subtleties of distinction, nor to those evasions which they so often defeat; and I ask them, whether any individual seeking the fulfilment of a contract depending upon an unlawful obligation, would be listened to in a court of justice? He would be told, and justly told, that his loss was his own fault; the consequence of his own dishonesty, in attempting to evade those moral ties which are binding upon every man of honour. This would be the language of the law, with regard to individuals; and, my Lords, amongst nations, though there is no such superior tribunal to appeal to, yet the principles are the same in the one case and the other, whether between individuals or between states. No matter to what degree the impunity of power may silence the claims of right; its nature cannot be altered; it is equally sacred, equally important; and is equally to be recognised in every attempt to protect the weak against the strong.

Let us examine now, what are the rights of kings in relation to their subjects. If the question stood upon that single foundation, the common advantages and the common consent of the people, if it were limited by that condition which imposes the mutual obligation of allegiance and protection, it would be easily decided. The rights of the sovereign over his subjects are not the rights of property; they do not confer the right of transferring them from one owner to another, like cattle attached to the soil. If this were all we had to consider, I, in speaking to a British House of Parliament, speaking in the nineteenth century, and at an æra like the present, should only need to state the principle, and obtain its sanction by universal acclamation. His Majesty sits on the throne in virtue of the recognition of this fundamental principle; we stand here, and enjoy freedom of speech, upon its basis, that a Prince using his power to the injury of his people, or, in the words of our

ancestors, having been guilty of violating the original compact between the sovereign and the people, forfeits his right to the crown. If James, instead of invading the rights and liberties of the subject in the way he did, had meditated the monstrous scheme of transferring the people of this country to the jurisdiction and possession of a foreign power, would that have been considered a less crime against the general rights of mankind, or a less infringement upon that compact by which kings reign and subjects obey?

The King of Denmark, his Lordship contended, had no right to alienate the Sovereignty of Norway without the consent of the people. He might withdraw himself from their protection, he might absolve them from their allegiance to him, but he had no right to transfer that allegiance to any other state: it became then the right of the people to decide to whom their allegiance should be given. Was it necessary for him to quote authorities in support of this doctrine, which was upheld by the first principles of natural right and justice? If, however, authorities in support of so plain and clear a principle were to be considered requisite, the best writers upon public law were undoubtedly on that side. Lordship here read passages from Grotius, Puffendorff and Vattel, all clearly maintaining the doctrine, that the sovereign of a state could not transfer the allegiance of the people; that he might, in case of necessity, withdraw his garrisons from their towns, and give up all claim to their obedience, but that it then rested with the people to determine to whom they would submit. It might, perhaps, be suggested on the other side, that there was a difference between a sovereignty and a patrimony. Nothing, however, could be found in these writers to render the question at all clear; and the notes on Grotius shewed its absurdity, by stating the reasoning in a circle, which was alone applied to it, namely, that a patrimony was a state or dependency which might be transferred,

although an integral state could not. Upon this point, however, there could be no doubt with regard to Norway, that the King of Denmark was the sovereign, and not the proprietor, and therefore had no right to transfer the allegiance of the people. Norway, in the earlier period of its history, was like England, divided into many petty states, which were subsequently all united under the dominion of Harold Harfage. Much division afterwards arose in consequence of the claims of his numerous family. They were at length united with Denmark, under Canute the Great. Subsequently Norway belonged sometimes to Sweden, and sometimes to Denmark, with intervals of independence; but ultimately, about the year 1360, was united to the latter by the marriage of the King of Norway to the Heiress of Denmark. It was, however, only united under one sovereignty, the States of Norway being an independent legislature, as the Parliament of Ireland was before the union of that kingdom to Great Britain. Norway was, therefore, an integrally independent state. Instances of transfers of territory were noticed in the writers whom he had quoted, such as Franche Comtè and Lorraine, and Fiefs in Germany, but in none of them was there any instance given of the transfer of an integrally independent state without the consent of the people. Cases might also be mentioned of the transfer of colonies and dependencies, such as Martinique and Guadaloupe, but none of these had any bearing whatever upon the question, nor in these instances had any opposition been made by the people transferred. trusted, however, that no argument of this kind, which referred merely to colonies and dependencies, would be brought forward as an endeavour to justify the attempt to transfer the allegiance of the whole people of an independent state, without their consent—an attempt made in contradiction to the established maxims of public law, and the first principles of right and justice. To try the effect, as to public opinion, of

attempting to force the people of Norway to submit, they need only look back to an event within the recollection of many of their Lordships, the subjugation of Corsica by France—who was there that thought of justifying the conduct of France towards Corsica? who was there that dreamed of stigmatizing the opposition of the people of Corsica to the unjust pretensions of France, as rebellious? And was it to be supposed that an attempt to compel by force the people of Norway to submit to the domination of a foreigner would not be viewed by all mankind with feelings of detestation? In what light was the project of Edward the First upon Scotland, and the means he took to carry it into execution, viewed by impartial posterity, and justly stigmatized by the historian? means which bore a strong resemblance to those recently used with regard to Spain. Edward having got into his power Baliol, the claimant to the Scottish Crown, forced him to sign an absolute renunciation of all his claims, and then endeavoured to compel, by force of arms, the people of Scotland to submit to his sway. Who was there that now stigmatized Wallace as a traitor for defending his country against the unjust pretensions of Edward? who was there that did not consider the execution of that hero as a foul stain upon the character of the greatest captain of his age, which obscured all the glories of his reign?

> "Scots, wha ha'e with Wallace bled, Scots, whom Bruce has often led, Welcome to your gory bed, Or to victory!"

Who was there that heard these lines who did not feel his heart beat high with the fervour of patriotism, who did not feel his muscles dilate with sensations of extasy at the patriotic sentiments manifested by a whole people in defence of their independence? The same spirit was displayed by the Scottish Barons in their Declaration, The same principle was

XXVIII APPENDIX.

also acknowledged by the French King, when the Pope declared this kingdom forfeited, and transferred it to him, who stated that it could not be transferred without the consent of the Barons of England. When the cession likewise of some parts of France was made by Richard the Second, the people resisted it, upon the ground that there existed no right to transfer their allegiance. Every thing, therefore, clearly proved the principle, that no sovereign possessed a right to transfer the allegiance of the people over whom he ruled—a principle distinctly understood and distinctly recognized—a principle founded in natural right and justice, and supported as such by every writer of any authority upon public law. The King of Denmark had done all that we were by Treaty bound to assist in compelling him to do, namely, to cede the kingdom of Norway. To transfer the allegiance of the people was beyond his power-was what he had no right to do, and what therefore no country had any right to interfere to bring about by compulsion, where no legal power existed to make the demand. He now came to the third part of his subject, the assistance furnished by Sweden to the common cause, in pursuance of Treaty; and had the papers he moved for contained the information which the House had a right to expect, he believed he should have been able to have proved, as plainly as the other rarts of the subject, that Sweden had not fulfilled the obligations she had contracted by Treaty, and therefore had no right to call upon this country to fulfil hers.—The papers, however, laid upon the Table did not afford the requisite information: they were vague, and, with all respect to the quarter from whence they came, he must say they did not give a correct statement. A paper from the Foreign Office, dated May 6, stated, that by a dispatch from Edward Thornton, Esq. his Majesty's Envoy to Sweden, dated the preceding June, it appeared that 30,095 Swedish troops were employed on the continent of Europe, with some other detachments, and including

APPENDIX. XXIX

the Landstrum of Pomerania; and no other information was given. It had been said, that those who attempted imposition should have good memories; and it seemed that those who produced this paper had forgotten a paper which was laid upon the Table last Session, dated in June, and in which it was stated, that by the latest advices it appeared, that 28,000 Swedish troops had landed at Stralsund. By the continent of Europe could only be meant the theatre of war in Germany, and not their being landed at Stralsund. Had the Foreign Office no information upon a subject upon which, of all others, they ought to have been informed, particularly as he observed that two payments of the subsidy, of £100,000 and £150,000, had been paid in March and June last? or did they intend to deceive the House and the Country?

Has the Foreign Office had no information respecting the number of Swedish troops actually in the field to co-operate with the Allies? Has Sweden ever fulfilled the contract to which she was pledged by her Treaty with this country? Have Sir Charles Stewart and Mr. Thornton ever stated in their dispatches the non-performance of that contract? Has Sweden ever acted with effect in aid of the common cause? I should wish to have that gallant veteran, General Blucher, examined before your Lordships upon this subject. Even after the battle of Bautzen, when the cause of Europe appeared to have been lost, when, in effect, if it were not for the folly and extravagance of the individual, whose power was now no more, the object of the Allies might have been defeated, Sweden had not a man in the field, or in progress to the field, although her treaty with this country, in which she engaged to supply her contingent, was signed in the preceding month of March. Nay so late as the battle of Leipsic, I ask, whether Sir Charles Stewart did not communicate to Ministers that the Crown Prince of Sweden had failed in executing the engagements of his Government? and I will ask still further, what has the Crown Prince done since the battle of Leipsic?

XXX APPENDIX.

Has he made a single movement favourable to the main object of the Allies? Did the Prince move to support the Allies in their attack upon France?—No. When it was stated last year, as an objection to the Treaty with Sweden, that the promise respecting Norway was likely to defeat the object of that Treaty, from the probable disposition of Sweden to give its solicitude for Norway a priority to the common view of the Allies, Ministers entirely discarded any such apprehension. But what has been the result?—why, that the Crown Prince, instead of joining the Allies against the common enemy, directed his first attacks against Denmark, with a view to the possession of Norway. In January last Denmark agreed, by treaty, to cede Norway to Sweden, and what then?—why, that while in the months of February and March rivers of blood were flowing in France, the Crown Prince moved not a single soldier to act with the Allies: not a movement, indeed, was made by that Prince, in conjunction with the Allies, until the 16th of April, when he thought proper to visit Paris. Here the Noble Earl read an article from a paper published at Liege, which had, he said, all the character of a demi-official document. In this article it was stated, that every body was surprised at the inactivity of the Crown Prince while the Allies were pressing upon France; but that the fact was, that this Prince had not been equitably treated, by the Allies having declined, notwithstanding his solicitation, as a member of the Confederacy, to admit a Swedish minister at the Congress of Chatillon: and the Hanseatic Legion, which was promised to act under the direction of this Prince, having been transferred to the command of General Bulow. For what reason then, said the Noble Lord, was this Legion, if the statement be true, transferred to General Bulow, if the Crown Prince were not suspected of an indisposition to employ the force under his orders in support of the common cause of the Allies? But whether this statement be right or wrong, and it could not at the time be safely

APPENDIX. XXXI

published in a Liege journal without some authority; the fact is, that the Swedish army remained inactive—that it took no part whatever with the Allies until the object of the war was attained, when the Crown Prince proceeded to Paris to enjoy a participation of the triumph. This Prince, then, having so failed in the performance of his engagements by Treaty with this country, can the British Government be called upon to perform its part of the Treaty, and especially in a part of so odious a nature as involves the use of force to reduce an independent and gallant people to submit to a foreign state—a part, the fulfilment of which is, as I have shewn, contrary to all the established principles of public law, of acknowledged morality, of common justice, and natural right? I call upon Ministers to explain the motives of their conduct. I stand upon the strong ground of justice. I have established the position as firmly as any moral reasoning can be reduced to the precision of mathematical certainty—that we have no right to force the Norwegians to submit to Sweden. I think also I have demonstrated, to the satisfaction of every candid mind, that Sweden has failed in her engagements to this country; and that, having so failed, she is not entitled to call upon our Government to perform its part of the Treaty in which those engagements were I have shewn that the performance of our part of this Treaty in the way proposed, and now acted upon, is contrary to justice and morality; but I maintain further, that it is equally contrary to every principle of true policy.

Upon the discussion of the Swedish Treaty, last year, it was argued, that it was politic to increase the strength of our ally Sweden by the annexation of Norway, while the grant of some German possessions to Denmark was the best mode of inducing her to feel a common interest with the Allies, and of course with us. But that argument could now have no material weight, while the increase of the strength

XXXII APPENDIX.

of Sweden could not be deemed wise, with any view to permanent policy. For under every consideration of probability, Sweden will still She is still likely to be jealous of Russia; of that incline to France. power with which, as it has always been my opinion, and as recent events must have clearly demonstrated, it is the peculiar interest of this country to cultivate a friendly and intimate connection. Is it then wise to strengthen the power of Sweden? For notwithstanding all that has recently occurred-notwithstanding the restoration of the ancient Dynasty, which, no doubt, under all the circumstances, holds out a fair prospect of long repose and amity with France, yet he must be a very sanguine politician who calculates that the old rivalship and jealousy of France with respect to this country are likely to expire. Indeed, if I am rightly informed, measures are in progress which threaten the increase and inflammation of that national jealousy. At these measures I think it proper only to hint for the present. I do not, indeed, feel it necessary to be distinct upon the subject; but I would advise Ministers to avoid every measure likely to irritate the feelings of the people of France, and to endeavour by all the means in their power to reconcile that people to their Government, as the best mode of preventing or mitigating national antipathy, of promoting harmony and prolonging peace. In a word, I should recommend a studious abstinence from any proceeding at all likely to produce a feeling of national humiliation on the part of the French, or that should seem in the slightest degree to resemble the dictation of conquest. The best way of settling Europe, and securing peace, is to settle France—to guard against disturbance or discontent in that country. But whatever arrangements may be made in France, I should, with a view to the permanent policy of this country, deprecate the annexation of Norway to Sweden. Therefore, if we had to enter into the discussion of this question de novo, I should oppose the policy

APPENDIX. XXXIII

of Ministers. I should indeed rather see Norway an independent kingdom, as the Norwegians themselves desire, then have it annexed to Sweden, or even restored to Denmark; for from the resources which Norway possessed, especially for the supply of our navy, her independence might be rendered of peculiar advantage to this country; particularly when these resources were cultivated by that spirit which must naturally result from the enjoyment of freedom and independence. Therefore policy, as well as justice and right, serve to fortify the conclusion I maintain, namely, that Ministers should advise the Prince Regent immediately to withdraw the order for the blockade of Norway, and interpose his influence in favour of the just claims of the Norwegian people.

I now come to a point which is separate from the argument, upon the policy of the question respecting the annexation of Norway to Sweden. It has been stated that Denmark has not acted bona fide in the execution of her Treaty for the cession of Norway-that the Danish Government has fomented or countenanced the resistance of the Norwegians, and that that resistance is not the act of the Norwegian people generally, but the work of a mere faction. But before your Lordships would give any credit to such a serious charge against the Danish Government, you would naturally require some proof. I have to state, that if such a charge be repeated in this House, I am instructed distinctly to deny that any Danish troops assisted, or ever have assisted, the insurrection of the Norwegian people. All the garrisons of Norway are, and always have been, defended by Norwegian soldiers; and those soldiers abandoning their allegiance to the Danish Government, have asserted the glorious efforts which the people of Norway are so nobly making to preserve their independence, to save their country from the dominion of a foreign state,

against which they entertain a strong aversion. Then, as to the assertion that the insurrection in Norway is the work of a mere faction -if that assertion be true, the blockade ordered by our Government is not only unjust, but unnecessary. For Russia and Sweden might easily contrive to put down such a faction without that blockade. Either this assertion is true or false—either the insurrection is the work of a faction or of the people—if the one, the blockade is unnecessary; if the other, such an employment of our force is, as I have shewn, contrary to every principle of public law, and degrading, as I contend, to the character of the country. But if, as it has been asserted, Denmark were really guilty of a dereliction of its engagements to Sweden-if she has violated her treaty, hostility should be directed against her, rather than against Norway. If Denmark be deemed criminal for not withdrawing the garrisons of Norway, the former is more properly the object of attack than the latter. In every point of view indeed, the attack upon the Norwegians, on our part at least, is not only unjust, but unnecessary. But to strengthen the charge against Denmark, it is urged, that the King whom the Norwegian people have appointed, is presumptive heir to the Crown of Denmark—and what proof does this fact afford of the co-operation of the Danish Government in the insurrection of the Norwegian people? Norway is the better half of the Danish dominions -better, far better in extent and means of defence, and nearly half in population. Prince Christian therefore took his choice; and were I in his situation, I should certainly make the same election-but how does the act of Prince Christian implicate the Danish Government?

It is said by the advocates for the policy of Ministers, and with some air of triumph too, that very important advantages have been promised to the Norwegian people, if they would submit to be transferred to the dominion of Sweden. I have seen, no doubt, a proclamation upon this subject, containing many promises, but how and when this proclamation was circulated, it is unnecessary to observe. I shall, however, observe, that similarly flattering promises were made by France to Corsica, but were they ever performed? Still the proclamation of the Swedish Government was accompanied by a demand that the Norwegians would submit, or if not, that force would be employed to compel their submission. Therefore, no alternative was left to these people, while promises of liberty were made, backed by the threat of a military force. But even admitting these promises were made in perfect good faith, is it to be argued, that any country shall be obliged to accept what a foreign state thinks proper to consider as happiness. No sort of tyranny can, in my judgment, be conceived more complete, than that a government should undertake to choose and force a people to submit to that system which such government may regard happy, although the people might think quite the contrary. Upon the authority, however, of the Agent for Norway, now in this country, who is, in my opinion, eminently entitled to peculiar respect and regard, I can undertake to state, that the Norwegian neither is nor has been a despotic government; but on the contrary, that although nominally despotic, the people have always enjoyed the utmost practical happiness, and that of course the people of Norway would

But, I repeat, that rather, infinitely rather, than have Norway transferred to Sweden, I should wish to see it erected into an independent state. Therefore, I maintain, that whatever terms or promises may be held out to the Norwegians by the Swedish Government, I

[&]quot; _____ rather bear the ills they have

[&]quot;Than fly to others that they know not of."

XXXVI APPENDIX.

should deprecate the hostility waged against Norway, because the feeling of the people of Norway is decidedly adverse to the connection.

I have quoted many cases to your Lordships from the highest authorities on record; but I will now quote one case which must be immediately present to your memory, and which is quite analogous to this question-I mean the case of Spain, in the delivery of which country from the yoke of a foreign state, our army was so gloriously triumphant. Ferdinand the Seventh ceded his government and crown to Buonaparte; and if it was the right of Ferdinand to make that cession, it was equally the right of Denmark to cede Norway. Yet the Spanish people resisted the cession, and we seconded that resistance—although this country had at a remote period asserted the right of Baliol to surrender the Scottish throne to Edward the First, which is a precedent, however, I should think not likely to be quoted upon the present occa-The "universal Spanish nation," as it is denominated, rushed into insurrection against the act of its monarch, and we, I repeat, supported the right of that people. If it be stated that Ferdinand yielded to the compulsion of circumstances, I will ask whether any circumstances of compulsion existed to extort from Denmark the surrender of Norway? and whether the same principle which justified an interposition in favour of the Spanish people does not equally call for our interposition in favour of the people of Norway? or whether we could consistently maintain that principle with respect to Spain, and suddenly turn round and abandon it with respect to Denmark?

We have been told that a negociation has been instituted with respect to Norway; but if it were said that this negociation left any opening for an arrangement agreeable to the will of the Norwegian people, I should instantly withdraw my motion. Understanding, however, that it leaves no alternative to this gallant people, but submission to a power which it detests, and that force is to be employed to effect that submission, I feel it my duty to persevere. I feel it a duty which I owe to humanity to rescue it from outrage—I feel it a duty which I owe to my country, and to your Lordships, not to allow its character and yours to be stained by an acquiescence in that outrage. The Agent for Norway, to whom I have before alluded, glowing with the enthusiasm which fills the hearts of his brave countrymen, and who still hopes that Ministers may be induced to shrink from the inglorious undertaking of subjugating his country by force, has called upon me to make the case of Norway known to your Lordships, to the British nation, and to Europe. I have therefore thought it my duty to bring forward the motion with which I mean to conclude; and as to the capability of the Norwegians to resist foreign domination, and especially Sweden, let your Lordships judge from their conduct in the days of Gustavus Adolphus and Charles the Twelfth. I do besides feel a lively interest in favour of a nation struggling so valiantly as the Norwegians continue to do, in support of their rights and privileges, and it will be consistent with the honour and character of this country, and your Lordships, to manifest a similar feeling. If it be said that the tendency of my motion would be to engage this country in a war with Russia and Sweden, still I should say, that whatever result might follow, I would ask my country, for the sake of its credit and character, for the sake of justice and humanity, to co-operate in the honourable and glorious cause of Norway.

The Noble Lord concluded with moving an Address to the Prince Regent, praying that his Royal Highness would be graciously pleased to interpose his mediation in favour of the unoffending people of Norway, in order to prevent any hostile measure from being taken, to force the submission of that nation to a foreign yoke, and to second the efforts of a people nobly struggling for the maintenance of their natural rights.

Protest against the Rejection of Earl Grey's Motion, in the House of Lords, relative to Norway.

The order of the day being read for the Lords to be summoned, It was moved, That an humble Address be presented to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, humbly to request that his Royal Highness would be graciously pleased to interpose his mediation, to rescue the unoffending people of Norway from the dreadful alternative of famine, or subjugation to the yoke of a foreign and hostile power:

And that, during the discussion of such proposals as his Royal Highness may be advised to make for this most desirable object, all hostile operations on the part of this country, against a people struggling for the sacred right of national independence, may be discontinued:

Which being objected to, after long debate, the question was put thereupon: it was resolved in the negative.

DISSENTIENT.

Because we consider the attempt to subjugate Norway to the Crown of Sweden as a manifest violation of the sacred rights of national independence; and we cannot reconcile ourselves to combat in this case the same principles, in defence of which his Majesty and his Allies have in the case of the other nations of Europe so gloriously and successfully contended.

Because it was contended in debate, and to our apprehension not sufficiently answered, that, even if such an engagement could be considered as lawful, the conditions of our Treaty with Sweden had no view to the resistance of the people of Norway to the proposed cession of their country by Denmark, and did not bind us by any obligation of good faith to assist in reducing by force that unoffending and independent people.

Because we cannot see, without the deepest regret, the employment of the British flag to inflict upon a people, whose friendship is the natural policy of this country to cherish and cultivate, the dreadful calamities of famine, for the purpose of enforcing so odious and unjustifiable a project.

AUGUSTUS FREDERICK.

CLIFTON.

WILLIAM FREDERICK.

WENTWORTH FITZWILLIAM.

GREY.

STANHOPE.

Essex.

LAUDERDALE.

ROSSLYN.

NORFOLK.

Treaty of Peace between Denmark and England, concluded at Kiel the 14th January, 1814.

We the undersigned, on the part of his Danish Majesty, Chamberlain Bourke, &c.; and on the part of his British Majesty, Sir Edward Thornton, Envoy at the Court of Stockholm; having exchanged our full powers, have agreed upon the following articles:

1. From the moment that this Treaty is signed, there shall be Peace and Friendship between their Majesties the King of Denmark and the King of Great Britain, as well as among their subjects, in all parts of the world.

Hostilities between them shall cease, and all prizes taken from the subjects of the respective nations shall be restored to their owners, and be considered as not having been made, from the moment that this Treaty has been signed.

- 2. All prisoners of war shall be given up in a mass, immediately after this Treaty being ratified of both parties.
- 3. His British Majesty consents to restore to his Danish Majesty all the possessions and colonies, which have been conquered by the British arms in the present war, except the island of Heligoland, which his Britannic Majesty reserves to himself with full and unlimited sovereignty.
- 4. The restoring of the colonies shall be performed according to the same rules and principles which were laid down, when his Britannic Majesty gave up to his Danish Majesty these very colonies in the year 1801.

With regard to the island of Anholt, it is agreed, that it shall be given back one month after the ratification of the present Treaty, unless the season and difficulty to the navigation should oppose the measure.

5. His Britannic Majesty having agreed upon with his Allies the Emperor of Russia, the King of Sweden, and the King of Prussia, not to conclude either armistice or peace with their common enemies, without their mutual consent, it is settled, that the Peace, which by the present Treaty is this day signed between the King of Denmark and the King of Sweden, shall in consequence be extended to the above-mentioned Allies, by the means of negociations, the which shall be entered upon as soon as possible, his Britannic Majesty engaging himself to employ his good offices with his Allies in order that their respective relations with his Danish Majesty may be renewed upon the same footing as they were before the war.

His Danish Majesty, relying with full confidence on the good

offices of their Britannic and Swedish Majesties, for the purpose, as soon as possible, of restoring the peaceable and friendly connexions between his Majesty the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia, as they were before the war, consents to make all hostilities towards the Allies of Great Britain and Sweden immediately cease. All prizes which have been made since this Treaty has been signed, shall be given back; his Danish Majesty relying on a complete reciprocity in this respect.

6. His Danish Majesty consents to take an active part with the Allied Powers in the present war against France, and to furnish 10,000 men, which are to join the army under the immediate command of his Royal Highness the Crown Prince of Sweden, to be placed on the same footing, and to be treated in every respect in the same manner as the Swedish troops, which constitute a part of the said army; his Britannic Majesty engaging himself to pay to his Danish Majesty, for the maintenance of the said troops, a certain sum, to be provided for every month in this present year, in the proportion of £400,000 sterling a-year, from the day on which they are placed under the command of the Swedish Crown Prince. This corps always to be kept up in full number, which a British Commissary shall be authorized to controul.

It is however agreed between the two high contracting parties, that these payments shall be liable to cease from the time his Britannic Majesty may declare such troops not to be required for the good of the common cause, or by the conclusion of a General Peace. A proper time shall be allowed, concerning which an amicable agreement shall be entered upon for the troops to return to his Danish Majesty's dominions.

7. The commercial relations between the subjects of the high contracting parties shall again return to the usual order, as existing before the present war began. It is even reciprocally settled, as soon as possible, to determine how these relations might gain more strength and extent.

- 8. It being of high importance for his Britannic Majesty, and for the nation, for ever to abolish the slave trade, the King of Denmark, in union with the King of England, binds himself to concur, so far as it depends upon him, fundamentally to establish this beneficent work, and to prohibit, in the most positive manner, and by the most solemn laws, his subjects from having any share in the slave trade.
- 9. The two high contracting parties oblige themselves reciprocally, not to conclude any peace or truce with France without mutual consent.
- 10. Whereas his Danish Majesty, in virtue of the Treaty of Peace this day concluded with the King of Sweden, has to his said Majesty ceded Norway for a certain provided indemnity—his Britannic Majesty, who thus has seen his engagements contracted with Sweden in this respect fulfilled, promises, in concert with the King of Sweden, to employ his good offices with the Allied Powers, at the General Peace, to obtain for Denmark a proper indemnity for the cession of Norway.
- 11. The sequestration which has been laid, by either of the contracting parties, on property not already confiscated or condemned, shall be raised immediately after the ratification of this Treaty.
- 12. This article stipulates the same obligations for the King of Denmark, in his capacity as future sovereign of Pomerania, as has been entered into between the King of England and the King of Sweden, by the Treaty of the 3d March, 1813, concerning a dépôt of English merchandize at Stralsund, loaded Swedish or British vessels, paying only one per cent. ad valorem.
- 13. All the Treaties of Peace and Commerce between the King of England and the King of Denmark are renewed by the present Treaty in their full extent, in so far as the present stipulations do not contradict them.

xliii

14. This Treaty of Peace shall be ratified by the two high contracting parties; the ratifications to be exchanged at Kiel within one month, or before if practicable.

APPENDIX.

Confirmed and concluded by us undersigned, &c.

EDMUND BOURKE.
EDWARD THORNTON.

Kiel, 14th January, 1814.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer stated in the House of Commons, that a more liberal offer had been made by Sweden to Norway than had ever been made to any ceded country. The nature of that offer is as follows:

Declaration of the King of Sweden.

His Majesty the King of Sweden having declared to the people of Norway, by the Proclamation addressed to them, that he reserved to them all the ancient rights which constitute public liberty, and having engaged himself expressly to leave the nation the faculty of establishing a Constitution analogous to the wants of the country, and founded chiefly upon the two bases of national representation and the right of taxing themselves; these promises are now renewed in the most formal manner. The King will by no means interfere directly in the new Constitutional act of Norway, which must, however, be submitted for his acceptance. He wishes only to trace the first lines of its foundation, leaving to the people the right of erecting the rest of the building.

His Majesty is also invariably determined not to amalgamate the financial system of the two countries. In consequence of this principle, the debts of the two Crowns shall remain always separate from each other, and no tax shall be collected in Norway for the purpose of paying the debts of Sweden, and vice versa. The intention of his Majesty is not to suffer the revenue of Norway to be sent out of the country.

xliv

The expence of administration being deducted, the rest shall be employed in objects of general utility, and in a sinking fund for the extermination of the national debt.

The King of Denmark's Declaration concerning the Cession of Norway to Sweden, issued the 18th January, 1814.

We, Frederik the Sixth, by the Grace of God, King of Denmark, the Venders and the Goths, Duke of Schleswig, Holstein, Stormarn, Ditmarsh, Oldenborg, and Pomerania, Prince of Rugen;

Make known: That, whereas we, by many and hard concurring circumstances for our monarchy, have, for to restore peace to the North, and for to prevent the threatening famine for the kingdom of Norway, by a Treaty of Peace, dated the 14th of this month, renounced as well for ourselves, as for our successors to the Danish Throne and Kingdom, for the advantages of his Majesty the King of Sweden, and his successors to the Swedish Throne and Kingdom, all our rights and title to the said Kingdom of Norway; of course we have, by the said Treaty of Peace, released, and do here, by this present Declaration, release all the inhabitants of Norway in general, and every one in particular, from that oath of homage and fidelity, which they as subjects in general, and as placemen in particular, each in his situation, civil or military, clerical or temporal, have taken towards us; at the same time, in consequence of, and in accord with the sixteenth article of the Treaty, we do hereby invite them all to go over with regularity and quietness to the new Government, who in the most obligatory manner has engaged itself to let the inhabitants of Norway keep and enjoy their laws, exceptions, rights, liberties, and privileges, such as they at present do exist.

Middelfurt, 18th January, 1814.

FREDERIK R. (L. S.)

Prince Christian Frederik's Circular Letter.

I, Christian Frederik, &c. make known, that the Norwegian people, released from its oaths to the King of Denmark, &c. and so restored to its rights as a free nation, has decidedly expressed its resolution not to submit to the King of Sweden, but to assert its independence. Being the next heir to the throne of Norway, and destined by his rank to stand at the head of a faithful and valiant people, I voluntarily listen to the sacred call, and consider it as my duty to do my utmost for the freedom and security of Norway.—As Regent of the Kingdom, which title I assume, with all the rights and with the powers which the King of Denmark has renounced, and which the nation thinks fit to give to me, in order to avert from the country disorders and misfortunes in this critical moment, it shall be my sincerest endeavour to maintain peace with all those Powers which do not violate the rights of the people of Norway.—Men chosen from among the most enlightened of the nation, shall assemble on the 10th of April at Eidsvold, in Aggershuss, to adopt such a form of Government as shall be best suited to ensure the liberty of the people, and the interest of the state. God will bless and protect a just cause, and the exertions of a brave people, against foreign oppression, which never has been known in Norway, and never shall.

CHRISTIAN FREDERIK.

Regency in Norway, Christiania, February 19, 1814.

Proclamation to the People of Norway.

Norwegians!—You have heard that his Danish Majesty Frederik VI. notwithstanding his ardent affection for the Norwegian people, which we gratefully acknowledge, has been forced to renounce his

xlvi appendix.

rights to the throne of Norway. You have learnt, with indignation, that you are ceded to a neighbour, who thought you weak enough to let your inflexible courage be shaken by an inhuman system of starving you, to submit to a foreign yoke, and to bend beneath commands which disgrace your ancient valour. The free people of Norway can fix their own fate. Swear to ensure the independence of your country. Call the Almighty to witness your immoveable resolution, and invoke the blessing of Heaven on your beloved country. It is by God's appointment, faithful Norwegians, that I, the heir of Norway's throne, am now among you. You may save yourselves by the bond of concord which binds your hearts. I have heard the voice of the people, which loudly demands independence, and powerful unconditional opposition to all violence from without. That is enough to induce me, animated as I am with the warmest zeal for the happiness and honour of Norway, to remain among this faithful people, so long as I can contribute by my presence to your independence—to the internal order and peace of the country. Called by Providence to guide the helm of the state in this decisive moment, I will, with a steady hand, and despising every danger, protect Norway's security, and maintain its most sacred laws.-An assembly of the most enlightened men of the nation, chosen by yourselves, shall form the plan of a Constitution, founded on unanimity and wisdom, and to give this country new strength against open and secret enemies. It will depend on their resolutions whether I will retain the dignity to which the wishes of-the people now call me. Beloved people of Norway, I have already received many proofs of your love and confidence: I shall feel myself secure among you. I shall endeavour to obtain peace for you-and by that means, new sources of prosperity and industry; and it shall be my chief aim to keep the evils of war far from your sacred frontiers. Only when foreign violence

attempts to violate the freedom and independence of the Kingdom, then shall it be seen that you have in your arms, strength to revenge insult, and courage in your hearts to prefer death to subjection.— We shall indeed still have to suffer want and distress, if irreconcileable enemies will not allow the Kingdom to enjoy repose; but in our frontiers there is only one feeling—to sacrifice every thing for the country, and for the assertion of the ancient honour of Norway.—God will crown our endeavours, and Norway furnish a new proof of the truth—that a people that fears God and loves its country is invincible.

C. FREDERIK.

Christiania, Feb. 19, 1814.

I, Christian Frederik, Regent of Norway, &c. declare, that I, as well as the whole people of Norway, acknowledge it as a particular benefit from the King Frederik VI. that a few days before he absolved this nation from its oath, he gave it peace with Great Britain. It would have been my first object to obtain this blessing; and I shall always endeavour to preserve it for the good people of Norway, not only with Great Britain, but also with all other Powers. It is therefore solemnly declared-Art. 1. The Kingdom of Norway is at peace with all Powers, except that Power which violates its independence, or attacks its frontiers.—2. The ports of Norway are open to the ships of war and merchantmen of all nations.—3, 4, and 5, Annul all preceding regulations respecting prizes and letters of marque, and declare that all prizes. made after the 14th January shall be restored.—No privateers of any foreign Power to be admitted into Norway.—6. All prisoners of war to be returned, and the private debts of Norwegian prisoners of war to be paid.—7. The ships of all nations bringing corn or provisions to Norway. may import as much as two thirds of the freight, in whatever goods: they may choose, and under all circumstances, on paying the duties. They are allowed to export all the productions of Norway, except provisions: in the above case, however, fish may be exported to the amount of two-thirds of the freight.

Proclamation to the Soldiers.

The Norwegian Nation places its hopes on you, brave warriors, for a happy conclusion to the conflict in which we willingly engage for the country. The first condition of the surrender of Norway, was the delivery of all the fortresses and warlike stores to the Swedes. Then you would have been required to lay down your arms. But this shall not be; Norway exists by your valour. The aged women and children live secure among the Norwegian mountains, defended by Norway's brave sons, led by your Regent and revered commander. Victory and Liberty, or Death, be our motto. My lot is inseparable from yours—my confidence is your unanimity—my hope, God—my reward, your love.

A circular letter to the clergy, expressed almost in the same terms as the other proclamations, desires them to put up public prayers for the success of the Norwegians in the assertions of their independence.

The following Circular Letter, dated the 18th of March, is addressed to the Magistrates, and the Inhabitants in general, of the Kingdom of Norway.

The situation in which Denmark and Norway were at the end of last year, made it our duty as Sovereign to give up one of the sister kingdoms to prevent the ruin of both.

APPENDIX. xlix

The Treaty of Peace concluded at Kiel on the 14th of January, this year, was the consequence. By this we gave the solemn promise, which never has been, nor shall be broken on our side, to renounce all our claims to Norway, and to appoint Commissioners to deliver the fortresses, the public money, domains, &c. to the Plenipotentiaries named by the King of Sweden. We commanded his Highness Prince Christian, then Governor of Norway, to execute in our name what we had promised. We gave him the most positive instructions; and on the 19th of January gave him our royal full Powers for the persons whom he should appoint to execute the Treaty. Then we released all the inhabitants of Norway from their allegiance, and impressed on them the duties which for the future they owed to the King of Sweden.

We have learned with heartfelt grief, that our nearest and most beloved relation, to whom we gave the Government of Norway with unlimited confidence, instead of executing our commands, has ventured to neglect them, and even to declare Norway an independent kingdom, and himself the Regent of it; to refuse to give up what the King of Sweden had a right, according to the Treaty, to demand; and finally, that he has even seized upon our ships of war that were in the harbours of Norway, has taken down the Danish flag, and hoisted another in its stead, and arrested their commanders, our servants.

Since, after the Treaty of Peace which we have signed, and the renunciation of our claims on Norway, we neither do nor will acknowledge in that kingdom any other authority than that of his Majesty the King of Sweden, we cannot but be highly displeased at what has been done there, contrary to the Treaty and our express orders; and the more so, as every civil officer, from the highest to the lowest, who had been appointed by us, as well as every other of our subjects in Norway, is released from his allegiance and duties towards us, on the sole condition

of fulfilling, as far as he is concerned, the stipulations of the Treaty of Peace.

At the same time that we make this known, we forbid every one of the officers whom we have nominated in Norway to accept or retain any employment whatever in that kingdom in its present state; we recall all the civil officers in the kingdom of Norway who are not natives of that country, and who regard Denmark, or any one of the countries belonging to it, as their native country; and command them to return within four weeks from the time when they shall be made acquainted with this letter, under pain of forfeiting our favour, and all the rights, advantages, and privileges, which they do or might enjoy as native Danish subjects.

Given at our Court at Copenhagen, April 18, 1814.

Swedish Orders for the Blockade of Norway.

The Swedish Government has issued orders for blockading the ports of Norway. The following official notification upon the subject was, on Thursday, April 28, received at Lloyd's.

GOTTENBURGH, April 11.

The Swedish Government has declared the ports of Norway under blockade, and has granted letters of marque against that country, of which I acquaint you, for the information of the Subscribers to Lloyd's.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

HENRY NEWMAN, Vice-Consul.

To Mr. John Bennet, jun.

APPENDIX. li

Prince Christian addressed the following Letter, on the 19th of February, to his Majesty.

Very dear Lord and Cousin,—The ties of blood, friendship and gratitude, which attach me to you, would penetrate me with profound sorrow, if, in obeying the voice of the Norwegian people, as set forth in their Declaration of this day, I have made myself guilty before God of an illegal and unjustifiable proceeding.

Necessity has forced you to cede your right to the throne of Norway, in behalf of the King of Sweden. You have commanded me to surrender the fortresses of the country to the Swedish troops, afterwards to quit my station and return to Denmark. My duty was not to obey these orders as long as I might be able. No, superior obligations force me to act otherwise. You have released the Norwegian people from the oath of fidelity. Thus become independent, they are not bound, against their inclination, to bend their neck under the yoke of Sweden.

I have examined, and properly appreciated, the disposition and opinion of this nation. The universal cry is, "Death and every sacrifice, rather than become Swedes." Every man wishes to be and continue a Norwegian, and the defence of the country is the will of all. You have, yourself, placed me over this brave and faithful people. I have constantly used all my endeavours to encourage their enthusiasm, which can alone secure the independence of Norway. Now I am to extinguish this noble sentiment, to abandon this people whom I was sent to defend, and deliver them up to crimes and foreign destruction, which the struggle in behalf of their country and liberty, without a rallying point, will naturally occasion. Certainly, if ever any step deserved the reproach of a most culpable neglect of the most sacred duties, it would be this.

I follow my high destiny, in order to save a free people from oppression. Providence has, I believe, appointed me to this post. I put myself at the head of the defenders of the country, and as Regent of Norway, I will defend, with all my power, the rights which are restored to the people to frame their own constitution, and fix their future destiny.

The nation has bestowed on me its confidence. It is not any merit which I have, that has procured the love of the people; no, I have inherited this love from my ancestors, and I will study to deserve it; and a grateful posterity shall recompence my labours by enrolling my name amongst those who had determined to sacrifice themselves in behalf of a people, whose love of country and sublime courage are re-united to the ancient Norwegian morality. Heaven will prosper my efforts, if I act with justice.

My object is the happiness of the people, and in such case, defence is a sacred duty. The Danes and Norwegians (God willing) will always behave like brothers, by land and sea. The Norwegian will never draw the sword against his brother.—Norway united to Sweden would, sooner or later, have invaded Denmark with a superior force, which nothing could have resisted. The territories of Denmark are now guaranteed on this side, and your Majesty has not a more sincere friend.

Our descendants, themselves, will regard it as their mutual interest to maintain that peace and friendship so necessary to all. I consider it as the first duty of a Regent to preserve them equally for the good of the people and the sake of humanity.

I pray God to shed on your Majesty and the Danish nation his most precious blessings, and subscribe myself

> Your Majesty's sincere friend and devoted Cousin, CHRISTIAN FREDERIK.

The Crown Prince of Sweden to his Brethren in Arms.

Soldiers!—A Conqueror, formidable both for his projects and his resources, threatened to seize upon all Europe, and made Germany groan under the yoke of his dominion. Sweden took the noble resolution of cooperating in the deliverance of the German nation. But before it sent its defenders to a foreign country, it was necessary to secure itself against a neighbouring country which was subject to the influence of the common enemy, while your King hindered the formation of a Northern Confederation: he indeed saved the country from the misfortune of becoming a province of another kingdom, but he cannot declare its freedom to be firmly established without making the Norwegians friends of the Swedish nation; solemn treaties were concluded, which guaranteed the union of Norway with Sweden; and the King of Denmark, by the Treaty concluded at Kiel, has renounced his rights to that country, and given to these treaties a sacred and inviolable character.

Soldiers!—till these treaties are fulfilled there is no repose for us—no peace for our families—no welfare for the North.

Soldiers!—Germany is free, and you have contributed to its deliverance. A Prince to whom the welfare of the Norwegians was confided, will sacrifice their happiness by refusing, contrary to the will of the nation, to execute a Treaty, which, besides other advantages given by it to Denmark, restored to it the Duchies of Sleswick and Holstein, which this Prince should wish some day to govern. If he persists in refusing to listen to the voice of duty, if we should be reduced to the unhappy necessity of employing arms to enforce the conditions of a treaty and the rights of Sweden—then remember, Soldiers, that it is not the Norwegian nation with whom we make war, but that it is

liv APPENDIX.

only the fomenters of disturbance who must be punished, and the men who assume the dominion over the nation whom we must combat.

Spare your misled brethren, who, when they recover from their error, will acknowledge that the Swedish Government, in wishing the union of the two kingdoms, has no other object than to insure the repose of the North, and to make the Norwegians free and independent.

Soldiers!—Full of the same confidence with which I led you to shores which we are now leaving, I shall lead you to the accomplishment of the high duties which the interest of the country demands from us. You will fulfil them as Swedes. God will prosper our cause, because it is just.

Given at my Head-quarters at Lubeck, May 21.

CHARLES JOHN.

To John Berkeley Monck, Esq.

Sir,—As Norwegians, and as Prisoners of War, we should be guilty of a gross dereliction of our duty to our country, if we did not embrace the opportunity now offered us, of evincing our sense of the generous interest, which the unhappy situation of Norway has generally excited among the inhabitants of England. We rejoice exceedingly that such an opportunity has been afforded us by this most respectable county, to which we are so highly indebted; and it gives us particular satisfaction, that this expression of our gratitude is more immediately due to you, Sir.

A motive somewhat better, we trust, than that of mere curiosity led us to the County Meeting, held yesterday, for the purpose of addressing his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, on the present happy and prosperous state of the public affairs of this country. And having

been taught from our infancy to regard Englishmen as our natural friends, we cannot refrain from evincing our gratitude for the lively, universal, and heart-felt interest, which the County of Berks yesterday took an opportunity of expressing in the hapless fate of our suffering country. No sooner did the name of Norway pass your lips, Sir, than a simultaneous burst of applause gave an electrifying effect to the impressive and persuasive language in which you pourtrayed the miseries of our native country, and enforced those claims, which from ancient habits, identity of interest, and similarity of feelings, she conceived herself justified in preferring on the good offices of England.

Whatever the fate of Norway may eventually be, whether she may be subjected to a hateful yoke, or be established in that independence, which it is at once her duty, her right, and her interest to assert, it will at least be a source of comfort to us, that a county, in which the yoke of captivity has comparatively sat but lightly on us, gave the signal for a national display of those feelings which, we are intimately persuaded, animate all classes of Englishmen in behalf of Norway.

Being neither politicians, nor much read in history, we had perhaps better confine this address to a mere expression of our cordial thanks for the obligations which you have been pleased, Sir, to confer on Norway. But as Norwegians and Prisoners of War, we should prove ourselves eminently deficient in public feeling and utterly heedless of the glorious example of patriotic devotion set us by our free countrymen at home, and our captive countrymen abroad, if we did not contribute even our united means, to serve the cause of Norway. In offering you our best acknowledgments, Sir, and in expressing our most hearty concurrence in every word, which fell from you on the subject of the political relations of Norway and Sweden, we think it our duty to state our sentiments on some points, vitally affecting the honour and interest of our country.

The Norwegians have been accused of flagrant ingratitude, in rejecting the magnanimous orders of the Court of Sweden. We answer: The true and only cause of the indisposition of the Norwegians, to be under any sort of obligation to the Swedish Government, is to be charged to that Government itself.

We detest the Swedish Government, on account of its restless and most unprincipled designs on our country.

We dread submission to the aristocracy of Sweden, as the greatest public calamity that could befall our country; for the introduction of that turbulent, ambitious, and needy class of men, into the administration of the affairs of Norway, would most assuredly entail on our country the same miseries which Switzerland experienced under the Austrian Bailiffs in the days of William Tell.

We do not love the Swedes.—If it be asked on what principle of Christian charity or humanity, we do not love them; we reply, the immortal Nelson taught his midshipmen to hate a Frenchman as the devil; and Norway has given birth to Naval Heroes who do not yield even to Nelson in lofty patriotism, immovable loyalty, unconquerable valour, and military skill. The illustrious examples of these distinguished men form the rule of the public conduct now adopted by our countrymen against the Swedes.

In proof of the sincerity of those patriotic sentiments, which in common with every man, woman, and child in Norway, we are most proud to cherish, even when our country is in an extremity of ill, we have only to state the fact, that the Norwegian mariners, to the number of upwards of eight hundred persons, some of whom have been confined on board of prison-ships since August, 1807, unanimously refused the offer of liberty, that was, by our accounts from Chatham of the 5th of April, tendered to them on condition of their becoming subjects of Sweden.

APPENDIX. lvii

We leave the friends and the enemies of Norway to make the necessary comments on the fact we have stated; and we only wish that a similar opportunity had been afforded us of displaying the same fidelity and zeal, which prompted our less fortunate fellow captives and countrymen to reject even the blessings of liberty, when they were to be purchased at the price of national dishonour.

The cause of Norway is in the hands of Providence; and we do most fervently pray, that the gladness now diffused among the nations of Europe may not be diminished by a wanton waste of human blood, in a country which only desires a participation in those public and private blessings, to which every community has an unquestionable right.

We place implicit confidence in the good sense and right feelings of the People of England; and we are firmly persuaded, that the glorious power of this country will not be ignominiously employed in accomplishing an object, which, if the political relations of Europe had not worn the present happy aspect, would most assuredly have made Bernadotte's peace with Buonaparte.

Nor are we less confident that the people of Norway will in their present most trying situation continue to manifest that exalted love of country, unwearied perseverance, and undaunted steadiness, of which they have already given so many striking proofs.

Among the noble incitements which will urge them to the performance of deeds worthy of their own renown, and that of their ancestors, the recent example of Spain, supported by England, will prove a most glorious stimulus; and our gallant countrymen will, we are persuaded, eventually succeed in defeating the open attacks and still more dangerous influence of the machinations of the Swedish Government.

We beg leave to repeat our heartfelt acknowledgments to you, Sir, and we are, with every sentiment of gratitude and respect towards the County of Berks, Sir.

Your most obedient humble servants,

Elling E. Twedt, of Bergen. Paul Pedersen, of Oster Rüsoer. Peter H. Mathiesen, of Bergen. Jan Steen, of Bergen. Jetmund Knudsen, of Bergen. Singdahl Jacobsen, of Laurvigen. Erich Larsen Eyde, of Ditto. Hans Christensen, of Porsgrund. Hendrich Hillemann, of Bergen.

Henrich Bull Kahrs, of Bergen. Peder P. Andresen, of Ditto. Jan Hansen, of Ditto. Urbanus Holm, of Ditto. Old Meldhal Hogh, of Ditto. Svend Thorkelsen, of Mandal.

Reading, May 18, 1814.

It appears from an article in the Treaty between France and the Allied Powers, dated Paris, the 30th May, that Guadaloupe, which was made over to the Crown Prince of Sweden in order to induce him to render effectual service to the general cause, has, by a trait de plume, been restored to its former owner, and is now once more in the possession of It runs thus:— France.

" His Majesty the King of Sweden and Norway, in consequence of the arrangements made with his Allies, and for the execution of the preceding article, consents that the island of Guadaloupe shall be restored to his Most Christian Majesty, and relinquishes all claims which he may have had with respect to the said island,"

APPENDIX. lix

How far Sweden has voluntarily consented to this amicable arrangement and restitution, I leave for the writers of that nation's political records to determine; but if Treaties, upon the fulfilment of which, such solemn stress had been laid, can so easily be broken in one respect, I see no reason why other articles militating against the rights of a whole nation should so strenuously be carried into effect. It is much more probable that "the Almighty will take up the gauntlet" in defence of humanity and a just cause, than to aid and abet the views of ambition. Had Catherine the Second been alive, she would doubtless have recollected the hour when the thunder of the Swedish cannon caused her to tremble and cry with vexation in her cabinet, and obliged her to quit her capital. A second Gustavus may again arise, and, although Finland now serves as a temporary barrier against the inroads of an hostile neighbour, yet if Sweden should succeed in gaining possession of Norway, and thereby add near a million of inhabitants to her own population, Zealand, with their assistance, upon some futile pretence or other, may a second time be invaded and conquered, and the royal armorial ensigns of Sweden, of the Three United Crowns, be too fatally realised. This would indeed be a preponderance of no common magnitude, and which England and Russia alike would have reason to condemn, if not to dread! The independence of Norway can alone defeat this unnatural coalition, or ultimate conquest. As an ally of England, Norway may be placed in the opposite scale to the lx appendix.

views of aggrandizement of Sweden; and as minor powers they can both have no other views but those of mutual commercial interests and advantages. For the sake of posterity and future concord, it is to be hoped that the wise and magnanimous Alexander will view this matter in its proper light: it rests in a great measure with him, to settle and arrange these contending claims of ambition and independence. If wise measures be now adopted, a lasting and durable peace may be the result of the general compact; and the present and future generations will hail the day that enabled Alexander to be the arbiter of Europe, and the title of "Bringer of Blessings" so recently conferred on him be universally acknowledged.

Whilst public bodies in this country are unequivocally declaring their sentiments and expressing their feelings as to the hard and unmerited sufferings of the Norwegians, it may not be amiss to know, that the people of Norway, driven, as they have been, to the hard necessity of defending their independence against the ambitious demands of an aspiring foe, have already signalized their valor by achievements worthy of their cause. Already have several Swedish cruizers, employed to enforce the blockade, or to harrass their commerce and destroy their property, felt the irresistible force of native bravery, when roused by oppression; and if Britain do not interfere, more may share their fate; for the enthusiasm of the natives is at its height. It is but necessary to make a few extracts from the Norwegian newspapers, to establish this fact.

I will therefore content myself with a literal translation of such, as more immediately present themselves to my view, at the present moment. In a paper called *Tiden*, or the Times, is a report from General Wibe, who thus expresses himself to his Royal Highness Prince Christian. It is dated Christiania, the 25th March, 1814.

" In consequence of your Royal Highness's orders, I proceeded to Bergen, to communicate to the public authorities in that city, the changes which had taken place in the State, in consequence of the Treaty between Denmark and Sweden. On my arrival, a day was appointed for convening the people from the several districts, to take their oaths of allegiance in the churches of their respective parishes. But previously, all the troops, as well those of the line as the militia, assembled in the great square of the town, and upon being addressed in a very eloquent speech by Major General Von Lowzow and the Grand Bailiff Bull, took the oaths of allegiance to the existing government. Several thousand spectators of both sexes witnessed this awful ceremony, and the air resounded with their acclamations. The people flocked to the churches, where patriotic discourses were delivered from the pulpits, and where they equally united in one general voice on this sublime occasion—a general enthusiasm prevailed throughout. It was a most gratifying sight to witness the noble and patriotic feelings that seemed to inspire the whole of the population of Bergen. The independence of Norway, and gratitude to the noble Prince who was placed at their head to defend the rights that they felt their just due, was the universal sentiment. Repeated Hurras, and "Norway-our Regent-and Brave Defenders," resounded from all quarters.

lxii APPENDIX.

"On my journey through other districts I had additional opportunities of witnessing the opinions of the people, many of whom had come a considerable distance to take their oaths of allegiance. When the nature of the country is considered, added to the difficulties of transport, where horses are obliged to be conveyed by water for miles, and have to pursue a journey of at least sixty miles, through Leirdal, and over the mountainous rocky ground of Fillefield, nought but a general spirit of patriotism could have collected so many persons together: they exclaimed, "We feel it is our country's cause; for this we have sworn to make every sacrifice; none ought, none will complain." Widows, whose hope and support rested on an only son, and who thus might have some claims of exemption, cried, "The independence of Norway is at stake; we no longer wish to retain our sons, but offer them freely to our country to partake the laurels of their brethren in arms."

"Such is the general spirit which prevails in this province; the attachment and fidelity of which cannot be surpassed. A state that has such citizens is invincible, and is worthy of the prince that is now placed at the head of it."

Similar reports have been transmitted from Trondheim, and other places. At Christiania, Prince Christian, attended by his staff and the whole of the garrison, appears to have sworn on the altar of his country, to defend the independence of Norway. A vast crowd of people witnessed the awful ceremony—the Bishop of the Diocese delivered a solemn discourse on the occasion, and sanctified the act by his blessing, in the high church, which was filled in every part: the full deep tones of the

organ, and the united voices of thousands, created a sensation which it is difficult to describe. After the ceremony, the Prince addressed the multitude in the following words: "Beloved Norwegians! receive my heartfelt thanks, the love and esteem of the people is my happiness!—my reward! let me ever find this unanimity amongst you, and the blessing of Heaven will attend all our actions." On mounting his horse, the Prince was attended to his residence by the general acclamations of the people.

The Regency for the internal regulation of the affairs of the kingdom, consists of the following persons:—

PRINCE CHRISTIAN FREDERIK, Regent.

- 1. Major General Friedrich Gottschalck Haxthausen, at the head of the First Department.
- 2. Chamberlain Markus Giöe Rosenkrantz, Director of the Norwegian Bank.
- 3. Conseiller d'Etat Carsten Anker, at the head of the Fifth Department.
- 4. Conseiller d'Etat Matthias Leth Sommerhielm, at the head of the Third Department.
- 5. Jonas Collet, Knight of Dannebrog, at the head of the Second Department.
- 6. Niels Aall, Knight of Dannebrog, at the head of the Fourth Department, and second Member of the Victualling Board.
 - 7. Mr. Carsten Tank, Member of the First Department.

The affairs of the Five Departments are classed as follows:—

First—Comprises the regulation of the finances, taxes and imposts, equalization of expences, orders on the treasury, disbursements of the Grand Bailiff, and other public boards; and all correspondence relative to matters of accounts.

Second—The management of the interior, as to what concerns the magistracy, or public foundations, police regulations, public roads, telegraphic communications, posting, and sessions affairs.

Third—Legal functions, juridical matters, Grants, which heretofore had been issued from the Danish chancery.

Fourth—Commercial regulations and the customs, as well as the executive power relative to all public duties and accounts.

Fifth—The administration of the various branches of inland economy, public fabrics and manufactures, the woods and mines.

Each Department to have its separate Bureau, or Board, with members attached to it for the dispatch of public business.

On the 24th of February, Count Axel Rosen appeared at Christiania, commissioned to execute the Treaty of Peace.

Prince Christian Frederik had invited the chief Officers of the State to be present at the audience. When Count Rosen entered, accompanied by Colonel Skioldebrandt, he appeared surprised at the presence of so many witnesses to an audience which he expected to be private. After returning thanks for the good reception he had hitherto met with on his journey, he produced a letter from Field Marshal Von Essen to the Prince, in which Rosen was invested with full powers

to act in his name, and at the same time to bring the Proclamation of the King of Sweden to the people of Norway. Hereupon the Prince said—

"In the present situation of affairs, I cannot receive this Proclamation of his Swedish Majesty to the Norwegians, and must, in lieu of all other answer, communicate to you the Declaration which I have made in the face of all Europe, and which I shall not fail to communicate likewise to his Swedish Majesty."

Then the Prince read his Declaration of the 19th of February, by which Norway declares itself independent; and then he added the solemn assurance—

"That the Norwegian nation considered itself as at peace with all other nations, and would regard as its enemy only that which should violate its rights."

Count Rosen.—" After such an unexpected Declaration as that which I have just heard, nothing remains for me to do but to return immediately, and I beg your Royal Highness's permission to do so."

The Prince.—" Before we part, Count, permit me to ask you, not as a Prince, but as a Norwegian speaking to a Swede, this one question—Must we not take it for granted, that the King of Sweden desires the good of a nation which he wishes to possess?"

Count Rosen.—" Undoubtedly, your Royal Highness; if I had been received in another manner, I should have shown that I have ample proofs in my hands."

The Prince.—" But on this supposition must not the national opinion, the general will, be consulted to learn what we consider as happiness?"

Count Rosen.—" His Majesty would have done this through the medium of his Governor-General."

The Prince.—" But first of all the nation should be gained; and what means has the Swedish Government employed? It had formed the plan of starving the nation whom it wished to gain."

Count Rosen.—" I cannot judge of the means which his Majesty and the Crown Prince have thought fit to employ."

The Prince.—" And what has been the consequence?—That the national opinion, or the national hatred, to call it by its right name, has risen to the highest pitch; and that the strictest measures of the Government can alone render it from breaking out. But since the King of Sweden has sent us so enlightened a man as you, Count, I will request you to convince yourself of the national opinion, and to give a faithful account of it to your King. This might, perhaps, make a desirable impression on a Sovereign who can desire nothing except the welfare of his people. I wish nothing so much as peace with Sweden; and intended to send Count Schmettau to Stockholm for this purpose. Have the goodness to use your influence to procure a passport for him."

Count Rosen.—" The King, my master, would certainly not allow me to take a commission from your Royal Highness; you will, therefore, permit me to withdraw, and to express to your Royal Highness, my regret at not being able to express my respect for your Royal Highness under happier circumstances."

The Prince.—" I am sorry, Count, that you must so soon leave us, and beg you to be convinced that you shall always be welcome in Norway as a Swede, who will be our friend and recognize our rights."

Thereupon Count Rosen left the audience room.

On the 11th April, the Assembly was solemnly opened by his Royal Highness the Prince Regent. The Council of the Regency and many of the national members being present, his Royal Highness made the following speech with great energy and emphasis on this august occasion.

"Norwegians! sacred is the calling that at present unites you at the foot of the altar of your country. The joint sense of the people rests with you, ye chosen men! your wisdom and unanimity will lay the foundation of a constitution, from which the present and a future race may expect happiness, order, and prosperity throughout their kingdom.

"The wisest constitution, is doubtless that, which insures to its citizens their rights and sacred laws, which gives to the executive power, authority to adopt every wise measure, and to see that those laws are duly carried into execution; but it will not be practicable for you to give to Norway a form of government which will answer the expectations of the people, unless you are united in this great work. May the ideas of the future happiness of the people, banish from your breasts every doubt, fear, or suspicion; when the constitution of the country is at stake, each member of this assembly will then prove himself a loyal upright Norwegian; and in uttering his conviction, will at the same moment reflect, that he is giving his vote for his fellow citizens, in whose name alone he speaks.

"Should any one observe to you, that Norway cannot exist as an independent state, then let the flame of patriotism be doubly kindled in your bosoms, recollect the aged—the young and the strong—who wished to animate you in the great work you were about to undertake: the former said, "Degenerate not from your ancestors." The latter, "Rely upon our strength, which exists as much in our arms, as in our

lxviii Appendix.

will." Do then the people of Norway no longer resemble their forefathers? shall its sons not with equal energy defend its mountains? are we unused to deprivations? and can any devastation be equal to that of the loss of liberty? Is it not in the power of the people to create its form of government according to the necessities of the state, and the means which it internally possesses? Norway has never refused to contribute its share to the expenditure of Denmark; in peaceful times it has transferred the surplus of its revenue in the public treasury, and shall Sweden seek to be united with Norway, with the view of bestowing alms on the people of this country? Why harbour any doubt? Are they entertained with a view of a voluntary submission?

"In truth, what would a nation deserve, which timidly offered up its existence and its honor? Why, those slavish chains alone, which since the commencement of time have invariably been doomed to be its portion!

"No!—to our praise be it spoken, we are not degenerated; with a high feeling of their own intrinsic worth, the whole people have sworn in the temple of the Most High! to maintain their independence; this oath it is for you to confirm, loyal Norwegians, by laying a foundation for that form of government, under which you are willing to live, and which you will defend against every attempt to overturn it.

"Do not doubt, that you possess the power, even in adversity, to support it, nor doubt that a just God will hesitate to protect the free and unshackled exertions of a people. "The Lord is my stay, and my hope!"

"I have conceived it as a paramount duty, as Regent of the country, to make known to foreign powers the harmony of the nation, and up to the present period no new act of hostility has been exercised against Norway.

lxix

"I have requested those potentates, whose friendship is essentially necessary to Norway, and from whose equity we may reasonably expect assistance in such a righteous cause, to declare their sentiments in our favour. The peculiar situation of the country has hitherto withheld their reply, but in the interim the English flag has again appeared, and been received with open arms in our harbours. To the King of Sweden I have written; the contents of this letter shall be laid before the General Assembly; but that monarch has returned my well-meant letter unopened.

APPENDIX.

"Alas! that the King who promises to be a father to the Norwegians, would at the same time estimate its just rights, and give peace and happiness to the North of Europe: we only aspire to live independent, and in a good understanding with, in reality, a respectable neighbouring people.

"I should esteem it a precious duty, were I enabled with any degree of certainty to enter more in detail, into the political situation of Norway, but no one can foresee the events or changes to which either whole or individual states in Europe are subject, till a General Peace shall again cause prosperity and happiness to return amongst us.—Fortunate in the mean time are the people who, surrounded by danger, difficulties, and adversity, shall with immoveable firmness, and unimpeached loyalty, support their King and defend their own rights and national honor till better times appear.—Europe will not then refuse its meed of praise and approbation, and future generations shall bless the deed.—May Norway prosper!

"I invite the Assembly now present, to choose itself a President, who may be changed weekly; as likewise a permanent Secretary; and, in order to carry into execution the proposal of a constitution, it will be necessary to appoint a committee, consisting of members from the different counties.

"The council will be prepared to lay before it, the necessary elucidation of the national resources, which it may have been able to collect at such short notice; but as the circumstances of the times prevent a detailed statement being made out of the counter demands on the kingdom of Denmark, and as the national revenue and expenditure cannot well be determined after a year-of warfare like the last, as little as it can be calculated from any previous year of peace, it will be impossible to lay before the General Assembly any regular budget for the year 1814: on the contrary I wish, that after the constitution shall be arranged, it may be taken into consideration, whether the delegates of the General Assembly, together with the Regency's first department, may not proceed on the examination of the finances, with proposals for new and necessary resources towards it.

"The indispensable Caisse d'Escompte that will be necessary to promote industry and trade, approved of on the 5th of January, by the constituents in general, has hitherto been prevented from being carried into effect, in consequence of subsequent events having rendered its union with a national Bank desirable, a plan of which will equally be submitted to the consideration of the Assembly. With reliance, I shall expect every assistance and support from the Assembly, which a perfect knowledge of the country and people, and a warm participation in the welfare of Norway, will naturally inspire into every member of it.

"My views are known to all. In sincere good will no one shall surpass me, and my brightest reward will at all times be the love of the people, and the esteem of the upright."

Hereupon the Assembly, together with all those present, repeated the Regent's wish, as expressed in his speech—Prosperity to Norway.

APPENDIX. lxxi

When the speech was ended, his Royal Highness caused the letter he had written to the King of Sweden to be read. Its contents were as follow:—

"Your Majesty will, I trust, not ascribe it to any want of respect that what I have now to communicate to you, has been somewhat delayed. I wished that this communication should be in due form, and in a state to raise every doubt of my respectful sentiments towards you, at the same time that it might convey the motives of my actions.

" Unable to employ other means, than what at the present moment I possess, you will not be surprised, that my pen, the only organ of my feelings, expresses them with all the frankness I owe your Majesty, as well as the cause which I defend. In transmitting to your Majesty the proclamation of the 19th February, I make you acquainted with the feelings which inspire the people of Norway, as well as the principles which will invariably guide my conduct. The people of Norway are not so much degenerated as spontaneously to surrender up their liberty and independence; there is but one voice amongst the inhabitants of this mountainous country, that of supporting their national character, and defending their firesides against all foreign oppression. It would have been a vain attempt for me, to have carried into execution the Treaty of Kiel, and to have delivered up the fortresses to your Majesty's troops. The inevitable consequences of such an attempt would have been a general insurrection against the only authority, which could preserve a people, left to themselves, from the inevitable evils attendant on a state of anarchy. By such a mode of proceeding, I should at the same moment have lost the necessary authority requisite to maintain order, and should in fact have deserved it, by deceiving the people in the good opinion which they universally entertain of me; in having invariably

lxxii appendix.

studied their welfare, and in at least wishing to prevent confusion, at such a critical moment. No choice has therefore been left me, between the disgrace of deserting a people whose whole confidence is placed in me, and the duty which I owe to the public safety and the authority hitherto exercised by me. In taking the title of Regent, I have left to the Diet assembled, the formation of the constitution; and the expression of the sentiments of the people, who have, in fact, already declared them, by their oaths for their country, in all the churches of the kingdom.

"In the mean time, I shall defend the undoubted rights of the nation against any power that would usurp them; and I venture to entertain the hope, that Divine Providence will, in this respect, deign to bless the united exertions of an independent people.

"Your Majesty will please to recollect that you have yourself been similarly circumstanced. You did not then fight for those rights, which belong to a people whose allegiance had been thrown off by a king renouncing his throne. You acknowledged the rights of the nation. Are not these then the same in Norway as in Sweden? Atthat time Denmark and Russia paid due respect to the declaration of the will of the people at whose head you are placed. Would it be too much to expect, that you should acknowledge the same rights in a similar situation? And finally, how can that plea of right for which you have had recourse to arms, agree with those principles on which you ground your pretensions to the right of taking possession of Norway? But I will wave further argument, in order not to give offence to your Majesty; without doubt you have been deceived by believing that the people of Norway wished to be united with Sweden. and conceive that the oath of allegiance to the King of Denmark was the only obstacle to the fulfilment of your wishes, in order to render

this nation as happy as Sweden. If this be the case, your Majesty may sift the sentiments of the people of Norway; you will then ascertain, that the treatment they have experienced on the part of the Swedish Government, has only tended to excite the national hatred (and which, alas! but too often exists between neighbouring nations) to the greatest degree; and you will be convinced that a forced union will only be productive of incalculable evils, both to Norway and Sweden. But at the same time your Majesty will no longer have to doubt that you may for ever gain the gratitude and esteem of the people of Norway, if you respect their rights. Every Norwegian who consults the welfare of his country, has but one sincere wish-to see peace and a good understanding established with Sweden. It is doubtless in your Majesty's power to insure the happiness of the people of Scandinaviawould, to God! that eternal concord and the closest bonds of alliance might unite the relations of mutual advantage both to Norway and Sweden.

"The same wise political rules would guide our conduct! Norway will never feel inclined to make inroads or gain any territory from Sweden; but it can defend its western frontier; and Sweden, at peace with Norway, may invariably prevent any hostilities on our frontiers. In this your Majesty may perceive the prospect of much future prosperity; and can you wish it to be otherwise, when the happiness of the Scandinavian people requires it to be so?

"I trust, your Majesty will honor me with your confidence; you may depend on my not uttering a single word that I cannot justify in the eyes of God; and with that truth which you may demand of me, when the welfare of two nations are at stake, whose happiness it is your wish to promote.

lxxiv

APPENDIX.

"The responsibility to God, for the evils which may result, in case you should refuse to hear my sincere sentiments, will most assuredly fall on you, not on me, who am alone anxious for the welfare of the people of Norway, and at the same time wish to prove myself a good neighbour to the Swedish nation, as well as to give convincing proofs of the high esteem and sincerity with which, as your Majesty's friend and relation, I remain,

Christiania, 6th March, 1814.

Your most devoted Cousin,

CHRISTIAN FREDERIK."

To His Majesty the King of Sweden ..

The Assembly then proceeded, in consequence of his Royal Highness the Prince Regent's wishes, to the election of a President and Vice President for the ensuing eight days; whereupon, Chamberlain Peder Anker as President, Conseiller Rogert of Trondhiem as Vice President, and Mr. Christie of Nordhordlehn as Secretary, were declared duly elected. A Committee consisting of six Representatives were likewise chosen, who in unison with the President, Vice President, and Secretary, were to propose regulations as to the proceedings of the Assembly, and its future operations. The regulations, consisting of fifteen articles, were subsequently adopted, and an address of thanks proposed to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent, which was carried unanimously; and the President, Vice President,

APPENDIX. lxxv

Secretary, and Committee were appointed to present the same as follows:

The People of Norway's Address of Thanks to the Regent of Norway, His Royal Highness Prince Christian Frederik, through their Representatives.

When Norway, rent asunder from its ancient bonds, was destined to be the prey of an all-aspiring ambition, our beloved country was not entirely abandoned, as it still placed its confidence in God, its hereditary courage, and its strength. It had you, noble chief! who with the united wishes of the people of Norway seized the helm, and guided it with wisdom, dignity, and vigour; who with great and praise-worthy sacrifices saved us from the horrors of anarchy, and, unitedly with the nation, swore to defend the righteous cause of Norway, and support this ancient kingdom's liberty and independence, at the expence of life and property. Your Royal Highness has not only by words, but deeds, fully shewn the warm interest you take in the honor and prosperity of Norway, your invincible loyalty and attachment to the just cause of a free and respectable people, and your indefatigable care for its security and safety. How sincerely do we then wish, in a more worthy manner, to interpret the deep and innate sense of respect, esteem, and regard, which every true and upright Norwegian feels towards you, the gratitude which the whole nation feels towards a divine Providence, who, as its greatest gift to a free and loyal people, has deputed you to be our support, in the hour of danger and difficulty. The assurance we entertain of your rare talents, virtues, and steady

lxxvi

attachment to Norway's just cause, will never be obliterated from our memory, as long as recollection shall last.

On behalf of the Assembled Representatives,

PEDER ANKER, President. ROGERT, Vice President. CHRISTIE, Secretary.

Eidsvold, the 12th April, 1814.

To this loyal address, the following answer was made by His Royal Highness:

"Gentlemen,—Every token of the people of Norway's satisfaction at my exertions is dear to me, more particularly when it comes through the channel of the representatives of the nation. Self-evidence proves to me that I have contributed somewhat to the salvation of my country—it is for you to do still more. The zeal and judgment that will animate this great work, will soon enable you to finish your operations, by giving to Norway a Constitution, which will be supported and defended by unanimity; to which end, I wish you every possible success.—I request you to convey the expression of my thanks and gratitude to the Assembly."

The chosen constitutional Committee consists of the following persons: Colonel Von Hegermann, Knight; Judge Falsen; Professor Sverdrup; Jacob Aall, Knt.; Rev. — Rein; Captain Von Motzfeldt; Conseiller d'Etat Rogert; Chamberlain Count Wedel Jarlsberg; Conseiller de Justice Diriks; Rev. — Wergeland; Lieut-Colonel Von Stabel, Knt; Procurator Omsen;

Bishop Schmidt, Knt.; Chamberlain Colonel Von Petersen; and Bishop Middelfart.

On the 16th of April the Committee submitted to the consideration of the Assembly, the following resolutions as the basis of the Constitution, which, upon being put to the vote, were adopted as follows:

- 1. Norway shall be a limited and hereditary monarchy, it shall be a free, independent, and indivisible kingdom, and the Regent shall have the title of King.
- 2. The nation shall exercise the legislative power through its representatives.
- 3. The nation shall have a right to tax itself through its representatives.
- 4. The Regent shall have the power of declaring war, or making peace.
 - 5. The Regent shall have the power of pardoning crimes.
- 6. The judicial, shall be separate from the legislative and executive powers.
 - 7. The freedom of the press to be allowed.
- 8. The evangelical Lutheran religion shall be that of the Regent and the nation.—All religious sects to be allowed the free exercise of their religious principles, except the Jews, who are to be excluded the kingdom.
- 9. Personal or united hereditary rights and privileges are in future not to be allowed.

Further appointments or limitations to be added to the above regulations, as the form of government shall be proceeded upon.

A Committee was then appointed for the examination of the national finances. It consisted of Messrs. Meltzer, Smith, Collett, Rolfzen, Krogh, Morch, Stoltenberg, and Rosenkilde.

It was likewise decreed, that a Committee should be appointed for the consideration of legislative concerns.—And that the Assembly then present, as soon as the constitution shall be adopted, and the King chosen, shall be considered as dissolved.

To the People of Norway.

It is a truth, which cannot be sufficiently promulgated, that frugality is one of the first duties of a citizen; and where can it be better exercised, and of more beneficial effect, than in a country, whose inhabitants must partially experience the want of the first necessaries of life? If Norway, and its brave Sons, have no other enemy to dread than hunger, let us betimes adopt those measures that are still within our power.

I do not speak solely to the respectable lower classes of society, who, in reliance on God's mercy, and loyal to their King, endure those wants they feel with patience, by placing confidence in the public measures of precaution, and in the mild and beneficent hand of nature, which will cause them to look forward to better times.—To such, frugality becomes a necessity!—It is to men in authority, to the wealthy proprietor of farms and public works, as well as to the citizens in general, that I now address myself.—

Remember, that every mouthful you enjoy more than you and

your families require, is a deprivation to your fellow citizens! Retrench therefore, and with unalterable determination prescribe to yourselves the consumption of bread, and every species of corn and meal, beyond what is positively necessary for your support. Those superfluous deprivations will feed the hungry, and supply the poor, who will bless you for your exertions. Set an example one to the other; the most economical and sparing amongst you will in this respect prove the best citizens. The inhabitants of towns, as well as those of the country, may derive support from such resources as nature points out in default of corn; use these likewise with a sparing hand; thus shall the period without difficulty pass over, wherein want may visit us, and the time arrive, when by the blessing of Providence we may look forward to a plentiful harvest.

CHRISTIAN FREDERIK.

Dated at Eidsvold.

Here follows printed instructions relative "to the use and method of preparing Iceland moss, which grows in abundance on a rocky soil, in forests, and in marshy grounds, in Norway."

At a Meeting of the Merchants and Inhabitants of Leith, held at the Exchange Coffee-house, on Friday the 27th of April 1814, agreeably to advertisements in the newspapers, for the purpose of considering the situation of the People of Norway, who are at present suffering all the miseries of famine,

WILLIAM BOYD, Esq. one of the Magistrates, in the Chair.

The Meeting being informed, that so far back as the year 1812, the people of Norway, from the failure of the crop, after having

lxxx appendix.

resorted to the use of bark of trees, moss, and other substitutes, giving rise to nauseous and mortal diseases, had been compelled even to incroach on the grain destined for sowing their fields, in consequence of which one third at least of the arable land had laid waste; that from this and other causes, their privations and sufferings have increased to such a degree, that there is every reason to apprehend, that, unless a supply of corn be immediately procured, a great proportion of the population must inevitably perish of want, during the ensuing winter; and understanding that a quantity of corn had been procured for their relief upon the conclusion of the peace, but which, in consequence of an order prohibiting the clearance of ships for Norway, could not now be sent to them without special permission from the British Government—the Meeting, influenced by feelings of sympathy and commiseration for a people with whom they have long been connected by ties of friendship and commercial intercourse;—

RESOLVED,—That there be presented to his Majesty's most Honourable Privy Council, a respectful Petition, in the name of the Merchants and other Inhabitants of Leith, earnestly praying, that permission be granted to export grain to Norway, and appointed Messrs. William Boyd, Patrick Borthwick, David Jameson, and James Borthwick, as a Committee to carry this resolution into effect.

WILLIAM BOYD, Chairman.

The good wishes of many persons in favour of the Norwegians are damped by the erroneous opinion, that the bold and manly line of conduct which they have adopted, although honourable to their feelings of independence, is unsanctioned APPENDIX. lxxxi

by the principles of public law, and that therefore the noble efforts which they have made to avoid passing under a foreign yoke, may be viewed as acts of rebellion, and the leading patriots be subject to the disgrace and punishment so justly due to such offences. But the following observations from Vattel, shew in the most conclusive manner the fallacy of the doctrine upheld by Grotius and some other writers, with respect to Patrimonial Sovereignties (on which the whole question turns,) and that the King of Denmark's transfer of Norway, gives no real right to the Crown of Sweden over that country.

"B. I. Chap. v. Sect. 69. Every perfect Sovereignty is unalienable by its nature. We shall be easily convinced of this by paying attention to the origin and end of political society and of sovereign authority. A nation forms itself into a society, in order to promote the common good in such manner as it shall think proper, and to live according to its own laws. It establishes with this view a public authority. If it confides this authority to a Prince; even with the power of transmitting it into other hands, he cannot possess the right of really alienating it, or of subjecting the state to another political body, without the express and unanimous consent of the citizens; for the individuals who formed this society, entered into it in order to live in a state of independence, and not to be subject to a foreign yoke, &c.

"Several authors (Grotius among others,) produce numerous instances of the alienation of sovereignties. Examples, however, frequently prove the abuse of power, not the right, and besides, the people consented to the alienation either willingly or by force, &c. An example which would have weight, would be that of a people

lxxxii appendix.

resisting such an act of its sovereign, and being generally condemned as unjust and rebellious, &c. In Europe we see no great state which is considered alienable. If some small principalities have been thought so, it arose from their not being perfect sovereignties. They were held of the Empire with more or less liberty. Their masters made a traffic of the rights which they possessed over their territories, but could not withdraw them from their dependence on the empire.

"We must therefore conclude, that the nation alone having the right of submitting itself to a foreign power, the right of alienating such nation can never belong to a sovereign, expect it be expressly given him by the whole of the people."

No one will pretend that a right of this nature has been given to the Crown of Denmark, which succeeded to the dominion of Norway in the 14th century by marriage, a means of acquisition conferring very limited powers—and the sentiments of the people, whose express consent is necessary to give validity to the transfer made by the treaty of Kiel, has been pronounced in the most unequivocal manner. The conduct of the Norwegians is therefore not only praise-worthy, as arising from a proper spirit of independence and of national honour, but is at the same time so strictly legitimate, and consonant to the principles of public law, that the most scrupulous advocates of good order, and of the right of sovereigns, may with propriety wish every success to their efforts in the glorious cause which they have undertaken.

By private accounts from Norway, it appears that Prince Christian has finally accepted of the government of that country, has been proclaimed King, as Christian Frederik; and has taken the oaths of fidelity to the people and constitution, in the presence of the Diet, renouncing all claims to the succession of the Crown of Denmark. All who acknowledge the authority of the King of Denmark, or who do not approve of the new order of things, are permitted to leave the country. Several vessels with corn and provisions have arrived from different quarters, and there is now no apprehension that the country will be compelled by famine to submit, and but little fear exists of being reduced by the force of Swedish arms; the inhabitants are nevertheless prepared to encounter the extremities of both evils. The Norwegian people, although the most pacific in their habits, are brave, hardy, and able bodiedendowed with every good quality of mind and frame that belongs to free, frugal, and unvitiated men.

Though subjects of an absolute government for the last 150 years, they have never ceased to entertain the most lively sense and unshaken love of rational liberty. Their practical virtues in conjunction with the practical mildness of the unlimited power which ruled them, have never allowed them to struggle for emancipation. Their obedience and submission have been unexampled, in the midst of hardships and privations not to be described; and in their happy simplicity the promise of fidelity, was fidelity itself. But once released by the act of their own government from their

oaths of allegiance, they naturally resume, with eagerness, the primitive rights of nature—freedom—and in scorning danger, they sport with death in its defence.

Whatever may be the ultimate fate of this devoted country, the whole population of which unanimously accord in the just sentiment of self-defence, and in the glorious struggle for an independent government; it is impossible for the most callous or prejudiced mind, to avoid bestowing on them the full meed of approbation in the exertion of those natural rights which every mortal in a greater or less degree must of course experience. Let us then trust and hope that all the considerations of magnanimity, rectitude, and policy, which have hitherto guided the greater powers in terminating a war of unexampled misery and devastation, and caused the blessings of peace to extend over the greater part of Europe, will at least induce them to withdraw their co-operation and countenance from the design of enslaving a free people; and if they do not use their powerful influence to induce Sweden to desist from the invasion, let them leave the invaders and the defenders to decide the contest single-handed on the Norwegian soil. Then may we expect to see a renewal of the noble deeds that have hallowed the names of the humble but heroic patriots of Switzerland, and placed their little cantons high on the list of nations, most illustrious for bravery and success in defence of their freedom.

The reader will observe, that the chief tendency of this Appendix is to offer to the public the most material State Papers relative to the proceedings in Norway, and that I have abstained from general comments upon their respective contents. The reports, as stated in the newspapers, have been incorrect, seldom complete, and too often partial.

It has been observed, that there were secret and avowed parties in Norway favorable to the Swedes, and of course inclined towards a union with that country. Reported intelligence, dated Copenhagen, Gottenborg, Lubeck, Paris, Brussels, &c. take notice of factions that predominate in Norway, which encourage the Prince Regent in the resolution of heading the people for the purpose of resistance.

It has been my intention to do away these absurd reports by publishing the official documents, which prove the reverse. Persons of note have not only been pointed out, but even named as refractory and adverse to the intended independence of Norway. It however happens, to the confusion of the authors of these incessant calumnies, that the very persons, thus mentioned, have taken an active part in the framing of the new Constitution, and given every possible proof of adhesion to the Regent, and the system of independence in common with the whole mass of the people, who are determined to resist the Swedish yoke.

With a disposition so essentially noble and virtuous, are we then still to have the detestable picture before us, of malevolent defamation? What can the Swedish government possibly expect to gain by these means, so degrading to the Swedish nation, which is well known to be too brave to be in want of subterfuges of this description for the purpose of conquest? How long must we suppose, that the allied Powers will suffer themselves to be imposed upon by palpable falsehoods? The Norwegians are unfortunately from the severity of their climate too often in want of grain. To these wants the Swedes are equally exposed from the same causes, and yet they boast of having offered corn to Norway! They now offer her a free constitution, when she has adopted one for herself, calculated for the country and for the character of its inhabitants.

All this is too glaring to mislead any common observer. Do they think the foreign cabinets so blind and ignorant, as not to look through these continual arts?—For the sake of humanity it is to be hoped, that Lord Liverpool's sentiments in the House of Lords will at last prevail. He observes, "that there never was a period when the character of Britain stood so high on the continent of Europe as at present; that there never was a more general disposition to look up to her with gratitude and respect. "Character,' adds his Lordship, 'in itself constitutes power:' and let us remember, that power is a trust committed to "our hands by the Almighty, for the use of which, as of every other blessing or faculty, we must render a strict

" account. In this 'high and palmy state' of our national character, therefore, we are more especially called upon to stand forward as the disinterested advocates of freedom and justice."

In addition to the foregoing documents, I have now, by the recent arrival of Norwegian newspapers, to add the following, which have been published, and not only contain the account of the election, by the people of Norway, of Prince Christian to be their King; but likewise the interesting particulars of the new Constitution.

The annexed letters from the Crown Prince of Sweden to the Governor General and Field Marshal Count Von Essen, have likewise found their way into Norway. It appears they were secretly transmitted from the frontiers for the supposed purpose of intimidation.

(TRANSLATED.)

" My Cousin,

"I have received all your letters, as likewise copies of those you have written to Prince Christian, and his replies. I do not conceive how it has been possible for this prince to deviate so completely from his line of duty, as to oppose the will of his sovereign, by making common cause with some insurgents, and thereby risk the loss of his future rights on Denmark. I conclude that some evil-disposed Danes, men in office, have excited ideas in this young inexperienced prince; but in the mean time, he ought to attend to

what common sense, his own interest, his honor as a man, and the respect due to a prince, points out to him. Norway has unfortunately already suffered too much during the last six years. Its population has decreased by the innumerable misfortunes to which she has been subject. Its commerce and navigation has been suspended, and agriculture, in lieu of advancing, has been at a stand, in consequence of a conditional government without coherence or fixed principles. By continuing this kind of tyranny Prince Christian places himself in open rebellion. In the first place, against the King of Denmark his lawful sovereign, who has ordered him to quit the states of Norway, and to deliver up to the agents of the King of Sweden, a country, which, by the Treaty of Kiel, was relinquished. Secondly, against the King of Sweden, who, by virtue of his being declared King of Norway, can hereafter consider Prince Christian in no other light than as a rebellious subject, and as a man, who in order to satisfy the rapacious inclinations of some of his favorites, is willing to prolong those evils which already too long have pressed so heavily on Norway and its unfortunate inhabitants.

"I wish you to let all well-disposed persons know, that the King and Swedish nation expect nought else of the Norwegians, but unanimity and friendship: that the King neither requires from Norway, contributions, fleets, nor armies, and far from raising men by means of conscription in his new states, he has in idea to abolish the obligation which the Norwegians are under, of remaining at the disposal of their government until the age of sixty years; as age places the greater part of mankind in the melancholy situation of remaining in a state of perfect inactivity. The King in-

tends therefore to limit the militia, and diminish the burdens which weigh down the country. I repeat, that his Majesty will not have a single soldier put in conscription: he will place the strength of the army of Norway on a footing in proportion to the population of the country, its commercial relations, its industry and agriculture, which has so cruelly been neglected by Prince Christian and the preceding governors. In short, the King will have no conscription in Norway; and on a peace taking place, it will even be abolished in Sweden, when this subject will be deliberated in the Diet. His Majesty is not in want of the Norwegian forces to render complete his Swedish army on the continent: such reports are alone fabricated by bad citizens in the country, the enemies of Sweden, and by Danish agents.

"In other respects, my cousin, I rely entirely on your energy, your zeal and talents, for the fortunate issue of the cause entrusted to you. I renew the expressions of my sentiments, and commend you, my cousin, to God's holy keeping.

" Your affectionate Cousin,

Liege, 10th March, 1814.

" CHARLES JEAN."

His Royal Highness the Crown Prince, to Field-Marshal Von Essen, &c. Dated Liege, 21st March, 1814.

" My Cousin,

"It may easily be foreseen, that in case Prince Christian continues his perfidious intentions; the force of our arms, supported by that of our allies, will without delay crown a cause with victory, which is founded on justice, legal rights, and the most sacred engagements. In the mean time, humanity requires, that every means should be adopted, which prudence and benevolence may demand, in order to bring back a misguided people, who have been seduced by ambitious persons from a proper sense of their duty—a people, who by the Treaty of Kiel, are entitled to the brotherly confidence of every Swede. But should the voice of good sense and moderation not be listened to: should Prince Christian, misled by treacherous advisers, expose the people to innumerable evils, whose welfare alone ought to be his chief object: should conscientious scruples not be sufficiently implanted in his breast, to deter him from executing his base designs, then, point out to him the abyss, which is ready to open itself under his feet, and the miserable fate that awaits a rebel, who by disobedience exposes himself to forfeit all his rights as a Danish subject. Inform the insurgents, that the vengeance of the law is suspended over their heads. Make it publickly known, that all foreigners ought immediately to quit Norway, in case they do not wish to be considered and punished as traitors to the Swedish government: that every Dane, who notwithstanding the orders of his own government, shall remain four days in Norway, after the period that the King of Denmark has fixed for the surrender of the country, shall be declared an outlaw: and, that those who take Prince Christian's illegal notes, shall be punished as receivers of counterfeit money, and their effects be sequestrated.

"You may further declare that I am returning with my army, and that it will not be without deep regret, that I shall exert all the energies of my soul, in leading on my brave troops to the conquest of my rights, which by a sacred treaty have been assured to

us, and which the greatest powers in Europe have guaranteed. I repeat to you, my cousin, the assurances of my esteem, and trust God will take you into his holy protection.

"Your affectionate Cousin,
"CHARLES JEAN."

Any remarks on these letters would be superfluous, as Norwegians neither allow themselves to be deceived or intimidated by empty sounds, or declamatory speeches, nor will they quit the path of national honor and duty. But as this Chief, and some of his advisers, may be considered as the sole cause of the disunion and disasters which the policy of Sweden has entailed on the North of Europe, it is but reasonable that the people of Norway should, through his own words, be made fully to comprehend the exalted and humane sentiments of the Swedish Crown Prince.

The Representatives of the nation having, on the 17th May, elected his Royal Highness Prince Christian Frederik, as King of Norway, he went in state attended by his staff and the Senate on the 19th to the Diet, which he was graciously pleased to address in the following terms:—

"Norwegians!—The high calling, which your fellow citizens imposed on you, is now completed. The ground work of the Constitution of Norway is laid; the nation, through you, its chosen representatives, has maintained its rights, established them for the

future, and by a wise division of power, insured the privileges of the citizens, and regularity in the state, which the executive power is bound and able to support. The dear-bought experience of other states, has taught the representatives of the people of Norway, equally to protect the form of government from the power of despotism, and the abuse of anarchy.

"This ancient kingdom required a king, but one who as little in form as in deed, might be a despot. No! to be the firm friend and father of his people ought to be his sole object. This the nation expects, and its confidence is of too sacred a nature, for me to hesitate, notwithstanding all the labours and dangers to which I may be exposed, to devote myself without reserve to the honor and prosperity of Norway. With these frank intentions, and relying with confidence on the support and protection of the Almighty, I trust I shall not disappoint the expectations of the nation. I receive the Crown of Norway, as a gift from a faithful and sincere people, a pledge of its love for me and my family.

"I promise and swear, to govern the kingdom of Norway according to its established constitution and laws. So help me God, and his holy word." "May the spirit of my great predecessor, Christian the Fourth, accompany all my actions! He was Norway's mild king and father. His example shall early be imprinted on the heart of my beloved son, and the love of the people shall be his inheritance; for he shall be taught to value this inheritance more than the brightest ornaments of the crown.

"And now, ye chosen representatives of Norway, its faithful sons! I call on you to swear to support the fundamental principles of Norway's independence, which we are all bound to maintain."

On this the Assembly took the required oaths with uplifted fingers, and his Majesty continued:—

- "Sacred be your oath! may God hear and sanctify it.
- " It still remains for me to communicate to the Diet, what I am enabled to state, relative to the political situation of the kingdom; a communication which I could have wished to have made before the crown was offered me, but the fulfilment of this wish has been denied, by the absence of intelligence from those confidential persons whom I have dispatched to England, and the allied powers. On Swedish intelligence I ought not to place any reliance, either as to conjecture or expectation. In the mean time, no hostilities have been committed, or declaration of hostilities issued, by any of the powers against Norway. The King of Sweden has, on the 12th April, declared our ports to be in a state of blockade, and has issued letters of marque, with the view of capturing all ships destined to or from Norway. Some ships have been carried into Swedish ports; on the other hand, three Swedish cruizers have been captured by our cruizers. Under convoy of our brigs, a considerable quantity of corn, to the amount of 150,000 barrels, has reached our harbours, and we may therefore, with gratitude to a Divine Providence, consider the greatest part of the country as insured against the apprehension of want.

"In respect to our situation with Denmark, I am enabled to lay before the Diet some public documents, wherein I trust, that it will be found I have not been inattentive to the dignity of the people of Norway, or what I owe to a highly esteemed relative, and loyal people, who, even after their separation from Norway, evince a disposition to support us to the extent of their means;

and who in consequence are entitled to every well-thinking Norwegian's respect and gratitude."

The several documents were then read, and his Majesty concluded as follows:—

"Thus have the duties of the Diet been fulfilled! but the President, and others in office, will remain in their respective stations until the protocols are signed. Return then to your homes, fellow citizens! with the full conviction, that each of you has been guided by a truly patriotic spirit, and that the people with gratitude will acknowledge, that the Diet has shewn itself worthy of their confidence, by supporting the honour of the nation and preparing its future prosperity. In this we may expect the blessing of the Almighty, for which purpose when we this day assemble in the temple of the Lord, we will call upon him for his support and assistance."

Upon the finishing of the speech, the Assembly appeared deeply moved, and many tears were shed by the beholders who witnessed this solemn ceremony, which ended in enthusiastic acclamations on his Majesty quitting the hall.

The members of the Diet then attended a levee, which was held by his Majesty, and subsequently attended him to Eidsvold Church, where the sacred service was performed by Professor Leganger. After the service, his Majesty and suite partook of a cold collation in the garden of the Professor, and then returned to the Iron-works, where a public dinner was given. The hall on this occasion resounded with patriotic songs; and repeated shouts of hurrah! from the assembled guests, on the healths

being proposed of their beloved king, and that of his son, the Crown Prince Frederik Carl Christian. Nor was, Prosperity to Old Norway, forgotten.

Copies of Documents, which by authority were read to the Diet at Eidsvold, 19th May, 1814.

1.—His Royal Highness the Regent's Letter of 22d February, to his Majesty the King of Denmark, in consequence of the Cession of Norway by the Treaty of Kiel.

f.,

" Your Majesty, and beloved Cousin,

"United to you by the ties of blood, friendship, and the bond of gratitude, it would be to me as painful a thought, as an afflicting reproach, if by this day's publication of the will of the people of Norway, and in my own situation as its Regent, I had made myself answerable to God as my judge, for an illegal and unwarrantable act. You have been compelled to relinquish your right to the throne of Norway, for the advantage of the King of Sweden; you have ordered me to cause the fortresses of the country to be delivered over to the Swedish troops, and afterwards to quit my post, and return to Denmark. To obey you was my duty, as long as I was able, and more imperious duties did not command me to act otherwise. You have released the people of Norway from their oaths of allegiance, they are consequently left to themselves, and can in no shape be compelled, against their consent, to submit to the yoke which the Swedish government is anxious to put on them. I have attentively examined the sentiments and feelings of the The unanimous opinion is, rather to sacrifice every thing nation.

than be converted into Swedes. To remain Norwegians, is the general determination; and the defence of the country, the universal cry. You have yourself placed me at the head of this loyal nation, and it has been my endeavour to maintain these sentiments, which alone can insure the independence of Norway. Am I now to damp this exalted feeling? desert the people I have been called upon to defend? and leave them to internal anarchy and confusion, which, whilst struggling for freedom and their country, without a leading point of union, would be the natural result? In truth, were any thing to be termed a deviation from the strict path of duty, it would have been to have acted in this manner. I obey the high calling of saving a free people from oppression, to which I believe Providence has appointed me. I place myself at the head of the nation's defenders, as Norway's Regent, and shall with an energetic hand defend those rights which have been restored to the people, that of choosing their form of government and future destiny. The nation has placed its confidence in me. It is not my own merit that has opened my way to the hearts of the people, I have inherited it from our ancestors; and it is as much my pride to deserve it, as it shall be my reward, by a grateful posterity, to have my name enrolled with those who were willing to sacrifice themselves for a people, in whose breasts, the love of their country, and a genuine high patriotic spirit, burns with all the ardour of old Norwegian purity. Heaven will bless my endeavours when I act right. My object is the happiness of the people: peace the bent of my efforts: self defence a holy duty. God grant that Danes and Norwegians may always meet as friends, both by sea and land: never shall Norwegians be the first to draw the sword against their brethren. Norway united to Sweden, would sooner or later overwhelm Denmark with an irreAPPENDIX. xcvii

sistible force: at present the Danish states are safe from this side, and your Majesty has a sure friend in me, instead of the most faithless of all friends—the future King of Sweden. The ties of relationship will best promote the mutual interest of both kingdoms, by maintaining peace, which I regard as one of the first duties of a Regent, not only for the benefit of the nation, but for mankind in general.

"In praying that heaven may shower its choicest blessings on your Majesty and the much beloved people of Denmark, I subscribe myself

" Your Majesty's sincere Friend and Cousin,

" CHRISTIAN FREDERIK."

Christiania, 22d February, 1814.

To his Majesty the King of Denmark.

^{2.—}Extract from the Regent's Letter of the 6th March, to his Danish Majesty, in reply to the Orders for the sailing of the Ships of War to Denmark.

[&]quot;The orders of the 23d February, relative to the duties of the officers of the Danish staff, naval commanders, and the remaining officers in the Danish service, are likewise received, and shall be communicated to the concerned. Circumstances have however arisen, which prevent Vice Admiral Lutken from executing your Majesty's instructions with regard to the brigs and other vessels of war, as he has not crews wherewith to man them, and the duty to defend the country with those means which remain with me, forbids my allowing of this navigable force quitting the service of Norway.

I unite with the whole nation, in acknowledging your Majesty's right of property in this respect; but at the same time, I could not answer for the consequences of exposing the state to the want of a means of defence, which may possibly be required of us. I only request your Majesty will for a moment place yourself in my situation."

Document the Third—Is from the Danish Chamberlain Steen Bille, and Colonel Lönberg, who were deputed together, with two Swedish officers, to take possession of the fortresses and other public works in Norway. It is dated Wenersborg, in Sweden, 3d May, 1814.

Document the Fourth—The reply from Prince Christian, announcing the impossibility, against the sense of the nation, of receiving these Deputies in Norway for the purpose above mentioned, or allowing them to execute the orders that had been given them on this subject. Dated 6th May.

Document the Fifth—Contains a further address from the Danish and Swedish Commissioners to Prince Christian, summoning the surrender of the fortress of Frederiksteen, and desiring his official reply and ultimatum to be sent to Stromstad, in Sweden. Dated 8th May, 1814.

Document the Sixth—Prince Christian's acknowledgment of the receipt of the Danish Commissioners' letter and public instructions, and transmitting them, in reply, a letter to the King of Denmark in justification of their proceedings

in not having effected the object of their mission. Dated Eidsvold, 10th May, 1814.

Document the Seventh—A letter from the King of Denmark to Prince Christian, ordering him, by virtue of the Treaty of Kiel, to deliver up to the appointed Commissioners, the fortresses in Norway, together with the ships of war, public works, and domains, &c.; and to quit the country under pain of his Majesty's future displeasure. Dated Copenhagen, 18th April, 1814.

Document the Eighth—Reply of Prince Christian to the King of Denmark, announcing the necessity of not acceding to his Majesty's positive orders, and his determination, in conjunction with the whole nation, of defending the country against the unjust pretensions of Sweden, or any hostile attempt that may be made to take possession of the fortresses, &c.; concluding with the regret his Royal Highness feels in disobeying his Majesty's orders, and taking all responsibility in this respect upon himself. Dated Eidsvold, 10th May, 1814.

The following public offerings on the altar of their country appear to have been made to the King of Norway and the Government, from the specified towns, &c. for the purpose of the general defence, or other immediate exigencies of the state.

Christiania.

Three ounces and a half of gold, 20 guineas, 21 Danish ducats, $526\frac{1}{2}$ ounces of silver, 218 ounces of silver coin, 1500 lb. of copper, 51 skip pound iron, 2000 tiles, 50,000 bricks, 12 reams of paper, 10 fathoms of wood, 50 skip pound of hay, 24 barrels of rye, 16 barrels of barley, 42 barrels of oats, 50 Rigsbank dollars, and sixteen shillings Swedish currency.

Dram.

Four thousand five hundred and ninety-one ounces of silver, in plate; 573 ounces in silver coin, 2 ounces of worked gold, 20 ounces of gold coin, 4 skip pound of iron, 55 lb. of tin, £406 sterling, 3250 dollars currency, $140\frac{1}{2}$ lb. copper, 4 skip pound of lead, 10 barrels of salt, a quantity of tobacco, and various articles in silver.

The Officers and Privates of the Nordenfieldske Regiment of Infantry.

Two thousand and eighty-three Rigsbank dollars, six crowns, and three Fredericks d'Or.

- Address from the Diet of Norway respecting the offer and conveyance of the Crown to his Royal Highness Prince Christian Frederik.
- "To the Regent of Norway his Royal Highness Prince Christian Frederik.
- "We the undersigned, the Representatives of the kingdom of Norway, do hereby declare: That we, in conjunction with the united

wishes of the nation and your royal Highness's summons, have, by virtue of the powers to us entrusted, agreed in establishing fundamental laws for the kingdom of Norway, such as to us appear best calculated to promote the welfare and benefit of the nation at large. To which end, we have endeavoured to divide the sovereign power, so that the legislative rests with the people, and the executive is placed in the hands of the King.

"Having thus established the Constitution, it has been a grateful and sacred duty for us to elect a King, who by his wise and powerful government may ensure and maintain the safety, the honor, and prosperity of the realm. It could not be doubtful, whom the Representatives of the people should elect to this high and weighty dignity—confidence, gratitude, and love, equally call upon us to fix our eyes on your Royal Highness. You came to us in the hour of danger and need. You thought and acted with unremitted ardor for the necessities of your country; you united your future fortunes inseparably with ours; and, as Regent, have shewn as much regard and attention to the rights of the people, as zeal for their prosperity and honor.

"We feel persuaded we have obeyed the will and wishes of the nation in this day electing you to be King of Norway; and in presenting the Constitution to your Royal Highness, we rejoice in the hope, that it may meet your approbation, and that you will accept a Crown, which is voluntarily offered you by a free people.

" In the Diet at Eidsvold, 17th May, 1814.

G. SVERDRUP, p. t. President. MOTZFELDT, p. t. Vice President. CHRISTIE, Secretary."

Proclamation.

"Beloved people of Norway! Receive your King's first and affectionate salutation! We have with pleasure seen the rights of a free and independent people to determine the form of their government, carried into execution by an assembled Diet, with a deliberation and patriotism, which now, by virtue of the constitution, and as far as mortals can judge, at the same time unites the rights of free citizens, with the safety and honour of the state.

"The old kingdom of Norway requires a king, and your confidence and love has called us to the throne—no choice could be more binding or grateful to us. The memory of our ancestor, more than any personal merit, whilst we have acted in conjunction with you, has determined your choice. That great king's example shall invariably be our guide, and our beloved son shall be taught early to become the first friend of the people, its greatest joy and hope.

"The kingdom requires peace, and your expectations shall not be disappointed, when you confide in us, that we will use our utmost endeavours to maintain it with all the powers. This is the first duty of a king: but his subjects as loudly call for the defence of their independence and honor: your king in this respect is willing to make every sacrifice; and the prosperity of the present, as well as future generations, cannot be secured without it is obtained. You are likewise entitled to expect that your king shall be the first who freely offers himself as a willing sacrifice, and example of courage and patriotism. Your expectations shall not be deceived. I have sworn it in the face of heaven!—and if the Monarch and his people are united, no power can separate them, if God be with us.

- "Our cause is just.—We trust, we hope the potentates of the earth will, for their own honour, acknowledge it; and as a justifiable motive for so doing, our public proclamations, and the annexed solemn declaration of the Diet, will be forwarded to those powers, whose Amity, and with whom a good understanding, is so necessary for this country.
- "It is not without sincere gratification that, herein, your king acknowledges and perceives the stamp of old Norwegian loyalty and sincerity; and we rejoice, in making public this proof of the remembrance of a spirit which animates a people over whom heaven has decreed us to reign, and whom we sincerely wish and aspire to render happy.
- "Recommend yourselves, beloved and faithful Norwegians, to the care and protection of a Divine Providence.
 - "Given under our hand and royal signet,
 - " CHRISTIAN FREDERIK."
 - " Eidsvold, 19th May, 1814.
 - " Countersigned,
 - " HAXTHAUSEN. ROSENKRANTZ. SOMMERHIELM.
 - " JONAS COLLET. AALL. TANK.

" V. HOLTEN."

Here follows two proclamations for a day of thanksgiving in all the churches; and, an order for the name of his Majesty and his Son Prince Christian Carl Frederik, as Crown Prince, being included in the public prayers in future.

Proclamation by his Majesty King Christian Frederik, on his Accession to the Throne.

"We Christian Frederik, by the grace of God, and, according to the Constitution of the Realm, King of Norway, &c. &c. &c. Make known—That we, called to the throne of Norway by the constitutional act of the 17th May, 1814, the day on which the Constitution was signed by the Diet, have accepted the Crown of Norway, and solemnly sworn to govern the Kingdom conformably to the Constitution and the Laws.

"The principles which have hitherto directed our conduct, will invariably guide us in the path of honour and virtue. The happiness of the people will be the end of all our efforts; to preserve peace with all Nations our first wish; and to maintain the liberty and independence of Norway our first duty: to the accomplishment of which, may the Supreme Being grant us means and aid. Our recompense will be that of seeing a faithful people happy, and of deserving their affection, as well as the esteem of all well-disposed persons.

" Given under our hand and royal signet,

" CHRISTIAN FREDERIK."

(L. S.)

" V. HOLTEN."

[&]quot; HAXTHAUSEN. ROSENKRANTZ. SOMMERHIELM.

[&]quot; JONAS COLLETT. AALL. TANK,

Address from the Representatives of the People of Norway to the King of Norway.

"The people of Norway, loosened from the ties of their ancient alliance with Denmark, having, by their Representatives, freely chosen and constituted themselves an independent state, now look forward with so much the more confidence to a happy futurity, in having the good fortune to find in your Majesty, a King and Protector, who does not hesitate to unite his destiny to theirs, by even sacrificing himself to their interests.

"But in declaring, in the name of the people, our firm and unalterable resolution to defend our liberty and independence, though it should be at the price of all we hold most dear to us; and in solemnly repeating the oath, that we have already taken to our country-ancient Norway, the fall and dishonor of which we do not wish to survive; we venture to supplicate your Majesty, that, when by virtue of the authority transferred to you by the Constitution, you shall communicate to the foreign powers the result of the Diet; you would deign, at the same time, to inform them, that this is the determined and irrevocable will of the nation-Norway hopes and desires to live in peace with all the powers; and convinced, that a sanguinary war with the neigbouring kingdom must end in being disastrous to both realms, she seeks her friendship and alliance, which would prove the pledge of mutual advantages. The Norwegians are persuaded that the powerful states, which, during late years, have fought with so much vigour and success to restore liberty and peace to Europe, will not consent to the oppression of a people, who only desire to live free

among their mountains; but who in case that this hope should be denied them, are resolved to prefer death to slavery.

"Given at the Diet at Eidsvold, the 19th of May, 1814.

G. SVERDRUP, President.

MOTZFELDT, Vice President.

CHRISTIE, Secretary."

The Entry of his Majesty the King Christian Frederik into Christiania, on the 22d May, 1814.

After the events had taken place of which all Norwegians were apprised, the crown of Norway having been offered by the people to this best of princes, and accepted by him, his Majesty Christian Frederik made his public entry into the capital of his kingdom—a day anxiously expected by its inhabitants, and for ever memorable in the annals of Christiania.

No sooner had messengers communicated the information of the expected arrival of the King, than the inhabitants vied with each other in preparing a respectful and worthy reception for a beloved monarch; which might, though feebly, express the joy with which he was received. The magistrates of the city, assisted by persons of taste and information, undertook the management of the festivities on this occasion.

As his Majesty approached the town, several of its public officers went to meet him, joined by a great number of volunteers from the neighbouring parish of Agger, under the command of Bailiff Holst, who met the King at Skillebak; the boundary between the parishes of Skybsmor and Agger, receiving him with repeated acclamations. The escort then proceeded to Grorud, where he was received by the Odels corps of Agger's parish, and from thence conducted to the manor of Sindsen, where a breakfast was prepared for his Majesty, who had left Eidsvold early in the morning. He was here met by the governor of the fortress of Aggershuus, the commanders and officers of the different regiments stationed in Christiania, many persons of rank, the Royal Burgher Guard, and a division of the Aggershuus mounted Jagers.

The procession left Sindsen for Christiania, and arrived about two o'clock in the afternoon at the entrance of the suburbs, where it was met by the master of police; and approaching Vaterland's bridge, a royal salute of 81 guns was fired from Aggerhuus A triumphal arch was erected on the other side of the bridge, decorated with appropriate ornaments; his Majesty was here received by the magistrates and representatives of the city. Twentyfour young ladies, daughters of the public officers and burghers, strewed the way with flowers: one presented his Majesty with a wreath of laurel, with these words: "Merited Honor!" Another address, which contained a voluntary subscription from the citizens of Christiania, to be placed at his Majesty's disposal, with these words: "From grateful Citizens." To which his Majesty was graciously pleased to reply: "The fair sex adorn every festivity " and sweeten life; I shall acknowlege with gratitude every flower " with which they may have strewed my path."

In answer to the compliments of the magistrates, his Majesty was pleased to say: "The good reception I experience, and the joy

" manifested by my people, produce the most cheerful sensations in my heart; but no one at this moment is more sincere than the wish of contributing to the welfare of the city of Christiania, and its inhabitants."

The procession then continued its route to the principal church, where a sermon was preached by the bishop, Dr. Beck; and a numerous congregation put up their prayers to the Almighty for the general success of their patriotic cause. A levee ensued at the palace, where several presentations took place. This auspicious day concluded with public dinners and a ball. The ships in the harbour were in the evening illuminated with lanthorns—transparencies appeared in several places with appropriate inscriptions. Above five hundred of the poorer classes were publicly fed, and received small donations in money, &c.; in short, nothing was omitted in this day of general rejoicing, which tended to evince the satisfaction that prevailed throughout the whole city, on an event of such infinite importance to the country at large.

Every rational and feeling mind was rejoiced to behold within the walls of the town, a monarch, of whom fame had previously spoken so favourably; and in whom (under precarious circumstances) the afflicted patriots put their trust. But it was the presence of this illustrious and beloved prince; his diligent care to make himself acquainted with the country; his activity and justice in the management of public affairs; his kindness and cheerfulness of manner; his hearty participation in the wish of all Norwegians under the most dangerous circumstances, and his presence of mind and efficacious steps for the security and independence of the country, which united the people indissolubly to him, and made him as dear to the subjects of Norway in general as to the inhabitants of the capital.

The voluntary subscription, as before stated, consisted of 52 ounces of gold, 12,550 ounces of silver, 100 Rigsbank dollars, in specie, $7\frac{1}{3}$ skip lb. copper, $2\frac{1}{2}$ skip lb. steel, $85\frac{1}{2}$ skip lb. iron, 140 lb. lead, 16 barrels of rye, 13 barrels of barley, 4 barrels of pease, 5 barrels of oats, 5 barrels of salt, 4 rolls of canvass, 1 chest of nails, £372 sterling, 8200 Rigsbank dollars.

* A skip lb. is equal to 358 lbs. English weight.

Summons for the General Armament of the Inhabitants of Norway, capable of bearing Arms.

- "We Christian Frederik, by the grace of God, and conformably to the constitution of the country, King of Norway, &c. &c. &c.
- "Make known, that we, in consequence of having been informed of considerable preparations being made by the neighbouring kingdom, which can have no other object in view than to violate the liberty and independence of the Norwegian people, find ourselves induced to call upon our subjects to take up arms, and to be ready to meet the arrogant foe, should he dare to invade our territory;
- "We call upon the Reserve Militia of the different districts, and all those whose names have been inserted in the lists, to meet in the defence of the country (and what Norwegian is not willing to do this?), to assemble at the churches in each parish, on the days fixed by the governors, and of which the bailiffs will have to give notice; where the lords of the manor, with the assistance of such officers of the different companies and militia, who may be on

furlough, will make out and sign a list of the number of such persons.

"These men are at the time required to bring with them such arms as they are possessed of and intend to use; and it is also to be ascertained how many may be in want of arms and the necessary ammunition; notice of which is to be forwarded as soon as possible through the governors, as the reports are received from the different bailiffs.

"The defenders of their country, of each parish thus assembled together, are permitted to choose from amongst themselves, out of every thirty men, a leader or chieftain in whom they place confidence; and the rendezvous of these detachments, as well as the encampment of the whole armed force of these parishes, is to be fixed by the bailiff, until the commanding officer's pleasure is known.

"All these armed men, when on duty, are to wear as a distinction, a grey cockade trimmed with green; and whenever it should happen that their services are required such a distance from their homes that they are prevented drawing their subsistence from thence, they are then to be maintained out of the military magazines; and to be subordinate to the commanding officers of the brigades, who will employ them in escorting transports, guarding of magazines and prisoners in defence of defiles, and on all other occasions, where they, according to their equipment, may be serviceable as sons of their country, in the defence of their homes and the protection of their wives and children, and in doing which, every Norwegian will imitate the valor of their forefathers, who never yet suffered any foe to enter the happy valleys of Norway with impunity."

The New Constitution of Norway.

OF THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT AND RELIGION.

- Article 1. The kingdom of Norway is declared free, independent, and indivisible. The forms of Government limited, and the Monarchy hereditary.
- 2. The Evangelical Lutheran Religion shall remain the public religion of the country. The inhabitants who profess the public religion of the State, are bound to bring up their children to the same. Jews are excluded the kingdom. Jesuits and Monks not to be tolerated.

OF THE EXECUTIVE POWER, THE KING, AND ROYAL FAMILY.

- 3. The King's title to be We, N. N. by the grace of God, and by virtue of the National Constitution, King of Norway. The Executive power is vested in him.
- 4. The King's person is sacred, he is above all blame and accusation. Responsibility alone attaches to his ministers.
- 5. The right of inheritance is in the male line alone, from father to son. The nearest of kin to take precedence, and the eldest of that branch to precede the younger.
- 6. The eldest son born in marriage of the elected king is to inherit, as specified in the above paragraph, so that one alone shall reign; the remaining princes who have a right of inheritance, in the mean time to have a separate allowance, to be settled by the Storthinget or Diet.
- 7. At the birth of a prince, his name and day of birth to be communicated at the first sitting of the Diet, and to be duly registered.

- 8. Amongst the heirs, is to be considered the one unborn, so that if his birth ensues after the death of the father, he is thereupon to have his right duly established.
- 9. In default of regular heirs, the King may propose a successor to the Diet, to be then approved of by them, or not, at their option.
- 10. The King to be of age on completing the 20th year; and on entering the 21st, he is publicly to declare himself to that effect.
- 11. As soon as the King shall have entered upon the administration of the public affairs of the kingdom, he shall take the following oath before the Diet: "I promise and swear, to govern the Kingdom of Norway according to the established laws and Constitution. So help me God, and his holy word." In case the Diet shall not at that period be assembled, he shall deliver a written oath to the Council, which is to be formally repeated at the next meeting of the Diet.
- 12. The King's Coronation and Inauguration to take place in the Cathedral of Trondhiem, when he shall be of age, at a time, and with such ceremonies he may himself choose to appoint.
- 13. The King shall invariably reside within the boundaries of his dominions, and shall not remain absent from them longer than 6 months at a time, without the consent of the Diet, under forfeiture of his right to the crown.
- 14. The King shall not accept of any other Crown or Government, without the consent of the Diet, for which purpose two thirds of their votes will be necessary.
- 15. The King shall always have professed, and is to profess, the Evangelical Lutheran Religion, and shall maintain and support the same.
- 16. The King shall ordain all public worship and divine Service, all Meetings, and Convocations in religious matters, and is to see public preachers or teachers obey the established forms of religion.

APPENDIX. CXIII

- 17. The King may issue and abolish temporary ordinances respecting trade, public duties, means of subsistence, and measures of police, provided they do not militate against the Constitution, or laws enacted by the Diet. They are to remain provisionally in force until the meeting of the ensuing Diet.
- 18. The King is in general to levy the taxes and duties, that are imposed by the Diet.
- 19. The King is to watch, that the property of the State and Royalties be appointed and used as directed by the Diet, and in the most profitable way for the general good of the community.
- 20. The King has the privilege, in his Council, of pardoning criminals, after sentence is past and opinions are given. It shall, however, depend on the malefactor whether he will accept of such pardon, or submit to the execution of the sentence. In such cases where the Allodial law (Odelsthinget) is ordered to be laid before the Court of State, no pardon, except that of exemption from sentence of death, can take place.
- 21. The King may select and appoint, after taking the advice of his Privy Council, all civil, military, and ecclesiastical persons.
- 22. The members of the Council, and those in office in the different departments, ministers and consuls, civil and ecclesiastical magistrates, the commanders of regiments and other military corps, governors of fortresses, or commanders of ships of war, may, without previous sentence, be dismissed by the King, after having heard the advice of his Privy Council. How far pensions are to be allowed to such discharged persons is to be afterwards determined by the Diet; they are in the mean time to retain two thirds of their former salaries: official persons, in other capacities, cannot be dismissed without previous sentence, or removed against their inclinations.
- 23. The King may grant orders to whom he pleases, as a reward for signal services, which are to be made publicly known; but is not to confer any other rank or

CXIV APPENDIX.

title than what belongs to the office. No honorable distinction can exempt any person from participating in the duties and burthens of a citizen, or entitle him to a preference in the offices of Government. Men in office, who may be graciously dismissed, are nevertheless to retain their official rank and titles. Neither exclusive personal nor hereditary privileges are to be granted hereafter.

- 24. The King may choose and dismiss his household or servants about the Court, according to his will and pleasure. The pay of such persons, and the expences of the Court, to be annually provided for by the Diet.
- 25. The King shall have full authority over all the forces by land and sea. They are, however, not to enter in the service of foreign powers, and no foreign troops, unless they are auxiliary troops acting against an attack of an enemy, shall be admitted into the kingdom, without the consent of the Diet.
- 26. The King has a right to call out his army, declare war, or make peace, to form or annul alliances, and to receive and appoint embassies.
- 27. The Government is not entitled to direct the military power to act against the members of the state, but according to the forms established by the laws; unless by any meeting which should disturb the public tranquillity, and which does not disperse after reading the article relative to the Riot Act, three times by the civil authorities.
- 28. The King may choose his council from Norwegian citizens, who are not younger than 30 years. This council is to consist of at least 5 members; but, on particular occasions, the King may appoint additional citizens of Norway to take a seat in the council, provided they are not members of the Diet. The public affairs may be distributed amongst them according to his pleasure. Father and son, or two brothers, are not to be united together in the same council.
- 29. All counsellors of State, when not on other duty, are to be present in the Council; and no resolutions can be valid, unless one half of the members are present.

- 30. Representations of filling vacant places, and all weighty affairs (diplomatic and military affairs of command excepted), are to be laid before the Council, by the member in whose department such transaction occurs. The furtherance thereof is then to be executed by him, agreeable to the resolutions adopted by the King in Council.
- 31. In case a member in whose department it may be to execute certain duties, should be absent, the King may appoint another counsellor to fulfil the duties of his office. If more than half the members are prevented by other duties from attending, the King may in such case appoint others, in order that at least one half the usual number of members may be assembled.
- 32. The Privy Council is to keep a register of all its transactions. Any person having a seat in the Council, is bound frankly to deliver his opinion, to which the King is to listen; but who, nevertheless, may form his own judgment thereon. In case any member of the council is of opinion that the determination of the King militates against the regulations of the State, the laws of the realm, or is evidently to the detriment of the kingdom, it is his duty to make strong remonstrances on the subject, and to enter his sentiments in the register. Whoever shall thus omit to enter his protest against such measure in the register, shall be deemed to be of the King's opinion, and shall be answerable for the result as may, be hereafter determined.
- 33. The member of the council, who has the management of the foreign department, shall keep a separate *portfeuille*, wherein such matters shall be entered as shall not be deemed advisable to be laid before the Privy Council. In other respects the same rules are to be observed as specified in § 32.
 - 34. All acts of government, and proclamations, to be in the King's name.
- 35. All proclamations and official acts of the King (military concerns excepted), are to be countersigned by such person whose duty it may be to represent the case in question, as a proof that it is consonant to the resolutions entered in the register, for which he is responsible.

APPENDIX.

- 36. The nearest heir to the throne, if he be the King's son, to assume the title of Crown Prince of Norway. The other branches of succession to be called Princes, the daughters Princesses.
- 37. As soon as the heir to the Crown has completed his 18th year, he is enabled to take a seat in the council, yet without a vote or responsibility.
- 38. No Prince of the Blood to quit the country, marry, or enter into foreign service, without the King's special leave. If he act otherwise, he forfeits his right to the Crown.
- 39. The Royal Princes and Princesses to be alone responsible in their persons to the King, or such judges as he may appoint for that purpose.
- 40. In the absence of the heir to the Crown, on the demise of the King, he shall return within six months, after notice of such an event, in case insurmountable obstacles do not exist, under forfeiture of his right of succession.
- 41. If, at the King's death, the next heir to the Crown should not be of age, the Queen Dowager, if she be the actual mother and widow, shall reign in conjunction with the Privy Council until the King comes of age. In default of a Queen Dowager, the next heir to the Crown to reign, if he be 25 years of age, with title of Regent. If the Regency shall fall to the lot of a distant branch, by reason of the nearest kin not having attained the age of 25 years; the former shall yield to the latter at arriving at that period. In this case the determination to be by a plurality of votes in the Council: the Queen Dowager, or if she does not exist, the Regent, to have two votes.
- 42. In default of a Prince of this description, the Regency to consist of the Privy Council, in conjunction with such persons as the Diet may appoint, under responsibility as § 45. In this case, the first member of the Privy Council to take precedence, and have two votes.
 - 43. The determination, in § 42, to be equally observed, in case the mental or

corporeal faculties of the King should render him unfit to reign, or that he be absent from the kingdom.

- 44. Such members as may by these regulations be called upon to govern, either in the incapacity, nonage, or absence of the King, are individually to take the following oath before the Diet:—" I promise and swear, to administer the government ac" cording to the laws and constitution, So help me God and his holy Word."
- 45. At the expiration of their government, they are to render an account thereof to the King, and the Diet.
- 46. At the death of the King, or in such cases where a Regency shall be appointed, an extraordinary Diet to be convened by the Privy Council, or others concerned. In case the Privy Council should neglect this duty longer than four weeks, the summons to be then made out by the counsellors of justice and members of the Court of Appeal.
- 47. The management of the education of the King, during his minority, in case his father should not have left written directions to that effect, to be entrusted to certain members of the Council chosen by the Diet, in conjunction with the Queen Dowager, in case of her being his actual mother, to the exclusion of the nearest heir to the Crown, his heirs, the Council, and other appointments of the Regency.
- 48. If the male branch in the royal line be extinct, and no successor to the Crown chosen, a Diet then to be summoned, as in § 46, to elect a new royal stock. In the interim, the executive power to be exercised, as in § 42.
- 49. The representatives of the people are to execute the legislative power, which consists of two sections. The Lagthing or Court of Law, and the Odelsthing or Allodial Court.

THE LEGISLATIVE POWER AND RIGHTS OF CITIZENS.

50. Norwegian citizens alone are entitled to vote, who have completed their

25th year, who have resided in the country 5 years, and are, or have been in office, or either own, or during more than 5 years have farmed matriculated land in the country, or have rights of citizenship in commercial towns, or possess house and land to the value of at least 300 rigsbank dollar in silver.

- 51. Within six months after the acceptance of the present Constitution, the magistrates of all towns and the clergymen and bailiffs of every parish shall make out a list of every person entitled to vote. Such alterations as this may hereafter be subject to, shall be entered accordingly. Every person, previous to his being entered on the list of voters, shall publicly take his oath to be faithful to the Constitution.
- 52. Votes to be suspended—1. on accusation of misdemeanors; 2. in cases of imbecility; 3. bankruptcy, or failures, unless they have occurred from accidents by fire, or other unfortunate and known circumstances.
- 53. Votes not to be valid—1. where the parties have been sentenced to the house of correction, slavery, or other dishonourable punishment; 2. entering foreign service without permission of the Diet; 3. taking up the rights of citizenship in foreign states; 4. on proof of having purchased votes, sold their own, or voting at more than one place of election.
- 54. Elections and meetings of the districts to be held every three years. They are to be completed before the end of the month of December.
- 55. Elections to be held, in the country, in the church of the different parishes; in cities, in churches, or at the town-halls, or other fit places. Proceedings in the country to be regulated by the parish priest, with assistants. In towns, by magistrates and other leading men. The order of voting to be according to the list of voters. Disputes relative to votes to be settled by the Committees, or if necessary, to be referred to the Diet.
- 56. Previous to the election, the Constitution to be publicly read, in country towns, by the resident clergymen; in cities, by the magistrates.

- 57, 58, 59, 60. Contain some further minute regulations, as to the nature of elections.
- 61. No person can be chosen as a Representative, who is not 30 years of age, and has not resided 10 years in the kingdom.
- 62. The Members of the Council, or official persons in its employment, servants of the court, and pensioners, cannot be elected as Representatives.
- 63. Every person elected, is bound to accept the office, unless prevented by circumstances which may appear satisfactory to the electors, whose opinion shall be subject to the decision of the Diet. Whoever has fulfilled his duties as a Representative in two successive diets, is not bound to act in the following diet. The Representatives, who may be legally prevented from being elected, is to be succeeded by him, who, in succession, has the greatest number of votes.
- 64. On a Representative being chosen, he is to be furnished with an authentic power signed in the country by the persons in authority, in towns by the magistrate, as well as by the electors, as a proof of his being chosen according to the established regulations; such powers to be determined by the Diet.
- 65. Every Representative to be repaid, from the public treasury, the expences of his coming to and from the Diet, and his maintenance while there.
- 66. Representatives, during their stay at the Diet, or going and returning, to be free from personal arrest, unless guilty of public misdemeanors; they are not to be responsible out of the Diet for sentiments expressed in it. Every one is bound to attend to the regulations of the Diet.
- 67. Representatives, chosen in the above manner, constitute the kingdom of Norway's Storthing, or Diet.
- 68. The Diet to be opened, in general, the first day in the week, in the month of February, every third year, in the capital, unless the king should appoint any other place in consequence of the invasion of an enemy, or contagious disorders, of which timely notice is to be given.

- 69. In particular cases, the King may summons the Diet out of the limited periods, by issuing a proclamation, and giving six weeks notice thereof.
 - 70. Such extraordinary meetings may be dissolved at the King's pleasure.
- 71. The Representatives to act for three years, as well in the ordinary as extraordinary meetings.
- 72. If an extraordinary meeting be called at the time of the ordinary one being about to sit, the functions of the first to cease, on the latter being established.
- 73. None of the different Sections of the general Diet can be held, unless two thirds of the members are assembled together.
- 74. As soon as the Diet shall be assembled, the King or his deputy is to open the sessions by a speech, stating the objects to which its attention is to be particularly directed. No debate is to take place in the King's presence. The Storthinget, or Diet, is, amongst its members, to elect one fourth part, which is to constitute the Lagthinget; the remaining three fourths to constitute the Odelsthinget. Each Thing,* or Section, to be held separately, and have their distinct President and Secretary.
 - 75. The duties of the Diet are:
- (a) To create and dissolve laws, to levy taxes, contributions, duties, and other public burthens, which are, however, only to exist to the 1st of July of that year, when the Diet may be sitting, unless renewed in the ensuing year.
 - (b) To create loans on the public credit.
 - (c) To superintend the finances of the state.
 - (d) To regulate the public expenditure.
- (e) To appoint the annual allowance to the King and his household, together with the *Apanage* of the royal family; which, however, is not to consist in landed property.
- (f) To revise the protocol of the Council, and all public accounts and papers, military concerns of command excepted.

^{*} An old Norwegian term, meaning Court of Justice.

- (g) To examine treaties and alliances, the King may, on behalf of the realm, have contracted with foreign powers, secret articles excepted, which are however not to militate against those publicly agreed upon.
- (h) To cite the personal appearance of all concerned in State affairs, the King and Royal Family excepted; this exception, however, not to extend to the Royal Princes, in case of their being employed in office.
 - (i) To revise temporary salaries, or lists of pensions, and alter or amend the same.
- (k) To appoint five revisors, who are annually to examine the public accounts, and public extracts thereof; which accounts are to be delivered to the said revisors annually, made up to the 1st July.
 - (1) To naturalize foreigners.
- 76. Every law is to be first proposed in the Odelsthinget, either by one of its members, or a Counsellor of State. If it be there approved, it is to be sent to the Lagthinget, who either approve or throw it out; in the latter case, the proposition is to be returned with accompanying remarks, which are to be taken into consideration by the Odelsthinget, which may either reject the proposed law, or again return it to the Lagthinget, with or without alteration. In case of a proposition being thus sent, and twice returned from the upper to the lower assembly, the whole Diet or National Assembly is then to be collected, and two-thirds of its body are to determine the question in debate. Three days shall in the mean time elapse, between each discussion.
- 77. When the motion in the first Section is approved in the second, or by the assembled Diet, it is to be sent by a deputation from both Houses to the King, desiring the royal assent.
- 78. If the King approves of the measure, it is to be sanctioned by his signature, and thus becomes a law of the land. In case of his disapprobation, it is to be returned to the first Section, with an intimation, that he does not at that time approve of it.
- 79. The Resolution is thereupon not again to be laid before the King, during the sittings of that Diet, but the same measures may again be adopted by the second

Diet. And if approved of at the third Diet, after being again discussed by both Sections, to be sent up again to the King, requesting he will not refuse his sanction to the bill which the Diet conceives necessary for the general benefit of the kingdom: it shall then pass as a law, although the King may not have given his sanction during the sitting of that Diet.

- 80. The sittings of the Diet to continue as long as it may be expedient to its members; but not to extend beyond three months, without the King's express permission. When the session is broken up, either by the business before the House being finished, or by the limited period expressed, the King is to signify his assept to the proposed measures. Such as may not be expressly approved, are considered as rejected.
- 81. Every law (those in Section 79 excepted) is to be issued in the King's name, accompanied by the Royal signet, in the following lines: "We———by the Grace of God and the National Constitution, King of Norway,—Do hereby make known, that the resolutions of the Diet of such a date (here follows the bill) is by us accepted and approved, as we by these presents do accept and approve of the same, and is to constitute a law of the realm.—Under our hand and seal———."
- - 83. The King's sanction is not requisite to the Diet's determination, wherein
 - (a) It publishes its first sessions agreeably to the Act of the Constitution.
 - (b) Its internal policy, or regulations.
 - (c) The acceptance or refusal of the member's powers.
 - (d) Item, of disputes as to votes.
 - (e) Naturalised aliens.
- (f) And lastly, the resolutions, by which the first section may choose to call the members of the Council to account.

- 84. The Diet may take the opinions of the High Court of Justice, as to matters of jurisprudence.
- 85. The sittings of the Diets are to be public, and its acts published, unless the plurality of votes determine otherwise.
- 86. Whoever obeys an order, the purport of which may be to disturb the liberty and privileges of the Diet, becomes thereby guilty of treason to his country.

THE LEGISLATIVE POWER.

- 87. The members of the Lagthinget, or second Section, together with those of the Upper Tribunal, constitute the Rigs Ret, or Court of the realm; which, in the first and last instance, passes judgment in such cases as may be preferred by the first Sections, either against the members of the Council or the High Court, for transgressions in efficial situations, or against the members of the Diet, for such as they may happen to commit. In the Rigs Ret, the President of the second Section is to preside.
- 88. The person accused may, without assigning cause, reject one third of the members of the Diet; yet in such manner, that the Court shall not consist of less than fifteen members.
- 89. In order to give judgment in the last instance, a Court of Appeal shall be organised without delay, which is not to consist of less than one *Justitiarius*, and six Constituents.
- 90. In peaceable times, this Court, together with two officers, to be appointed by the King, shall be considered as an Appeal Court, in the second and third instance, in all Court Martials which may concern cases of death, loss of honour, or deprivation of liberty, for a space of time beyond three months.
- 91. The sentence of the High Court of Appeal can in no instance be subject to revision or controul.
- 92. No person can be a member of the Court of Appeal, who has not attained his thirtieth year.

- 93. To employments in the State, Norwegian citizens are alone eligible, who acknowledge the Evangelical Lutheran Religion, who have taken the oath to the Constitution and the King, and speak the language of the country: and
 - (a) Are born in the country, of parents, who at the time were subjects of the State.
- (b) Are born in foreign parts, of Norwegian parents, who at the time were not subjects of another power.
- (c) Who have at this time a fixed residence in the kingdom, and have not refused to take the oath to support the independence of Norway.
 - (d) Or hereafter may reside in the country during a space of ten years.
 - (e) Or may be naturalized by the Diet.

Yet aliens may be appointed as teachers in the University and public schools, as physicians, and as consuls abroad. No one to be appointed to the superior offices of the State, under 30 years; or to be magistrates, inferior judges, or bailiffs, under 25 years of age.

- 94. A new and general civil and criminal code of Laws shall be published by the first, or if not practicable, by the second meeting of the Diet. In the mean time, the now existing laws are to be in full force, inasmuch as they may not militate against the fundamental law, or the provisional regulations that may in the mean time be established. The now existing permanent taxes to continue to the next meeting of the Diet.
- 95. No dispensations, protections, respites, or restitutions, to be accorded after the new general laws be published.
- 96. No one can receive sentence but according to law, or punished without a previous sentence: torture in no case to be inflicted.
 - 97. No law to have a retro-active force.
- 98. Perquisites of office, appertaining to the officers of the law courts, are not to be attended with taxes to the treasury.
- 99. No person can be imprisoned, unless in lawful cases, or as determined by the law. In cases of false imprisonment, or illegal detention, the offender is amenable to the law.

- 100. The liberty of the press shall exist. No one can be punished for any publication, be the subject what it may, which he has caused to be printed or published; unless he has, expressly and openly, either by himself or has caused others to shew and evince a disobedience to the laws, disrespect for religion, morality, and the constitutional powers, and resistance to its ordinances, or brought false and dishonorable accusations against any one. Free discussions relative to the government, or other matters of any description, are freely allowed.
- 101. New and permanent limitations, as to privileges in trade, are not in future to be granted to any one.
- 102. Domestic inquisitorial visits are not to be allowed, except in criminal cases.
- 103. Asylums are not to be allowed to such persons as hereafter mya fail in business, or be bankrupts.
 - 104. Personal property not to be confiscated in any case.
- 105. In case the State should require any one to surrender up his moveable or immoveable property for public purposes, full indemnification is to be allowed from the government.
- 106. The purchase money, as well as the revenues of ecclesiastical property or benefices, are solely to be employed for the use of the clergy, and in the furtherance of knowledge and science. The funds of charitable institutions to be employed in such purposes alone.
- 107. Odels and Aasedes Ret, the rights of inheritance, and redemption of hereditary property, are not to be abolished. The conditions under which they may continue for the best interests of the state, and the advantage of the peasantry and lauded property, shall be determined at the first or ensuing Diet.
- 108. No counties, baronies, fee simples, and fidei commissions, are to be hereafter established.

- 109. Every citizen of the State, is, in general, equally bound for a certain period to act in defence of his country, without reference to birth or property. The construction of this maxim, and such limitations to which it may be subject, may be determined at the next meeting of the Diet, after every information shall be collected by a committee, to be chosen before the present Diet shall be closed. In the mean time, the existing regulations to be adopted.
- 110. As soon as the Diet shall have sanctioned the present Constitution, it shall be deemed the fundamental law of the kingdom. Should experience prove that any alterations may be necessary, the proposition to such effect shall be made at the ordinary Diet, and publicly printed. But it will be for the ensuing Diet to determine whether such amendment shall take place or not. Such alteration is however never to be inconsistent with the principles of the Constitution, but alone consist in modifications of individual articles or resolutions, which may not alter the spirit of the Constitution; and two thirds of the Diet are to unite in opinion relative to such amendment or alteration.

We, the undersigned, the Representatives of the kingdom of Norway, do hereby declare the Constitution which has been adopted by the assembled Diet, to be the fundamental laws of the kingdom of Norway, for general observance. In proof whereof, we have hereunto set our hands and seals.

Eidsvold, the 17th May, 1814.

(Signed by 112 Representatives.)

The readers attention is requested to the annexed observations relative to some preceding passages in this Appendix.

* PAGE 3.

That "the supreme governor of the universe would take up the gauntlet," was an observation, made by a learned member of the House, in the course of his argument, and which did not pass unnoticed in the reply that was made to his speech—it needs no additional remark.

* PAGE 11.

It is singular, that this pamphlet was published and distributed a few days before Earl Grey's motion was discussed in the House of Lords. A remarkable analogy has been observed between this pitiful production and a certain speech in support of the embargo.

* PAGE 17.

I have heard this gentleman declare, that he was well aware, there was no assumed diplomatic style in his declaration. The reply he made was not in the capacity of a public emissary, but as a private gentleman, whose character ought not to be attacked with impunity. He added, that the esteem of his countrymen was of the highest value to him, and that he would blush not to have dared to contradict the assertion which certainly was not fabricated in "Lubeck."

* PAGE 44.

It is a remarkable circumstance, that this declaration bears no date. I believe, however, I shall be able to explain it. No sooner was the Treaty concluded between Denmark and Sweden, relative to the cession of Norway, than Field-Marshal Count Essen, the commanding general, sent to request the surrender of all the fortresses and arsenals to the Swedish troops. No mention, whatever, was made of any constitution; on the contrary, the 4th article in the Treaty of Peace between Denmark and Sweden, positively states, that Norway has been ceded not only with all the rights of sovereignty, but even as a property. An expression and a title, which I have heard enlightened Norwegians speak of with indignation, and the most bitter resentment. It was generally believed, and indeed there does not exist a single circumstance to prove the contrary, that the Swedish crown intended to retain Norway with all the rights of sovereignty; the military forces of that country being more calculated for certain purposes, when disposed of with unlimited sovereignty.

When the Norwegians intimated their determination to resist the Swedish yoke, then indeed we heard of "a free constitution, rights to tax themselves, and of "Representatives."

There needs no penetration to comprehend this measure, and I believe it is generally understood, that the Swedish Declaration was nothing more than an expedient of necessity, which could not have the smallest effect upon the Norwegians, with whom the Swedish government had no communication whatever. It has been maliciously said, that the Regent of Norway had prevented the effectuation of this Declaration; but it has been purposely omitted, that the Swedish government had, for more than a year, strictly prohibited every communication between Sweden and Norway. What are we then to say of this Declaration, and of all the magnanimous offers of freedom which it contains? C'est une plaisanterie! and when we recollect, that this very Declaration is published in the foreign papers, and communicated to divers cabinets at a time that Sweden was endeavouring to starve the Norwegians into submission, this public shew of generosity can be regarded in no other light than as a complete mockery.

THE END.

J. Innes, Printer, Wells-street, Oxford-street, London,

